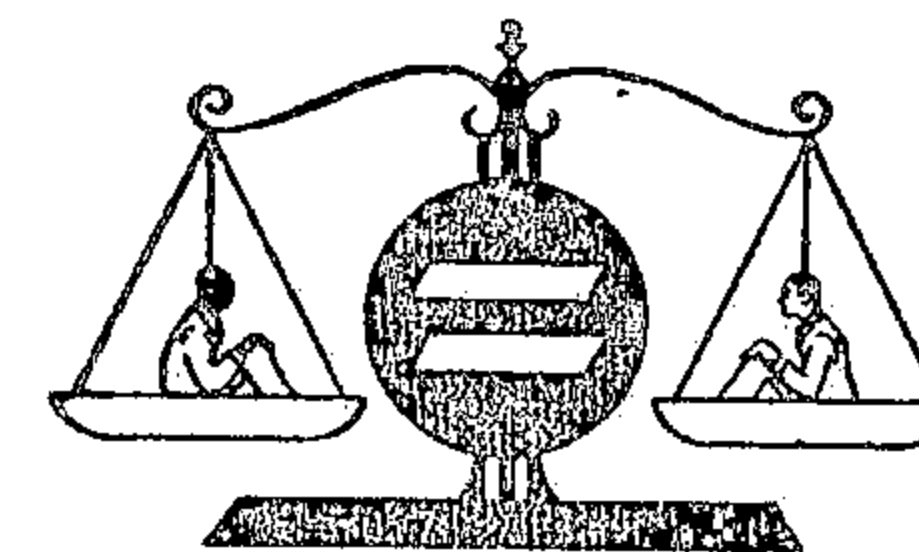


The
CULT OF EQUALITY

A STUDY OF THE RACE PROBLEM

by
STUART OMER LANDRY



BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

ABOUT ANNUITIES

HARNESSING THE POWER OF THE PRESS

THE GREAT INLAND WATERWAY FOLLY

BELIEVE IT NOT

—A STUDY OF CURRENT ECONOMIC FALLACIES

LIFE INSURANCE

—WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT HELPS YOU

HISTORY OF THE BOSTON CLUB OF NEW ORLEANS

*No man will treat with indifference the principle
of race. It is the key of history. — Disraeli.*



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NEW ORLEANS - U. S. A.

Copyright 1945
By STUART OMER LANDRY

SECOND EDITION

To
DAVID W. PIPES, JR.
A FRIEND, HELPFUL AND UNDERSTANDING

Printed in the United States of America

Preface to the Second Edition

AS was expected "The Cult of Equality" was received with mixed emotions, and opinions about it ranged from extravagant praise to bitter denunciation. Equalitarians and many of those who have been won over by the propaganda against so-called intolerance reacted violently against it. On the other hand, the author has received letters from people all over the South, as well as some from the North, complimenting him and agreeing with his conclusions.

Strange to say Negroes themselves have not objected to the book, generally speaking. Many of them have purchased it. In fact, it was selling well in Harlem until one of the editors of P. V., the well-known Negro newspaper, organized a fight against it. Ordinarily this would tend to increase the demand for the book. But because of the limited number of copies available in the first edition, no effort was made by the publishers to take advantage of this situation. Negroes in the South, particularly New Orleans, bought the book freely. I have had some correspondence with one or two Negroes and they have not objected to my ideas.

Because the subject is so controversial the press has practically ignored the book. Copies were sent to many newspapers and magazines for review. As is well known no publisher in the North would undertake to put out a book like "The Cult of Equality." In fact no magazine or leading newspaper would dare print articles expressing such ideas. The Charleston News-Courier, referring to "The Cult", said:

. it has had from the Northern reviewers and their newspaper and magazine media the silent treatment. In the great and greatly enlightened centers are no writers bold enough to notice the fact and argument in Landry's book, much the less to confute and denounce them. The evidence is that the highbrows in the Big Burghs are afraid to mention Landry and his book.

Few even of the Southern newspapers mentioned the book, but several gave it exceptionally high praise. Some papers merely noted it in passing and others commented uncritically.

A few scientific journals mentioned "The Cult" more or less disparagingly. One such reviewer becomes personal in his sarcastic reference to the author, and in bitter scorn denounces him as an ignoramus. However, the reviewer of one scientific journal says the book contains humor, without meaning that it is unconscious.

None of the reviewers undertook to answer the arguments made in the book, which arguments are based on facts obtained from the writings of scientists themselves. This was to be expected, of course, because the average scientist deals in formalized and conventional knowledge. Anybody, whether another scientist or a layman, who opposes the accepted thinking of a particular branch of science is anathema. It was hardly to be hoped that an independent, especially a layman, could discuss anthropology and sociology and receive serious attention from smug and cock-sure professors. So I am not surprised but only amused.

In spite of the lack of favorable or unfavorable mention, the first edition sold out rapidly as word about "The Cult" spread from one reader to another. This, of course, is flattering to the author since it proves the real merit of the book. Unfortunately, the paper scarcity prevented a re-issue immediately, and it was only recently that the publishers were able to get paper to print a second edition.

Among the charges leveled at "The Cult of Equality" are that the book is fascist propaganda and that the author is a fascist. When you cannot meet a man's arguments you call him a name. Today in the whole world there are only two names in all name-calling that really mean anything. One is the word *fascist* and the other *communist*. Both these words are used loosely. As a tendency to call a man with liberal ideas a communist, so a Tory, a capitalist or even a large industrialist is often termed a fascist. The word *fascist* is applied by communists, socialists and liberals to all reactionaries and to all those who do not agree with them on social or economic ideology. Actually fascism and communism are economic terms. I will not attempt to define them, but I will point out that fascism is not capitalism, and above all that the word *fascism* cannot be rightfully applied to a conservative or to a person with peculiar racial, social, religious or other beliefs having nothing to do with economics.

Fascism started in Italy and was not concerned with racism. Hitler, who adopted fascism for Germany, used the so-called race issue, particularly as applied to Jews, for propaganda purposes. But his anti-semitism was not a necessary part of fascism.

Hitler also was a vegetarian but it does not follow that everybody who is a vegetarian is a fascist. To believe that one race is superior to another does not mean that the person holding this belief is a fascist. If so, then, by the same process of reasoning, the person who believes in the equality of races is a communist. As

a matter of fact, racial as well as economic and social equality is one of the main tenets of communism. In Russia today it is against the law, with a severe penalty for its infraction, to exhibit any racial bias.* In Russia every one is supposedly equal to every one else. There are theoretically no classes or class distinctions. That is the reason Russian propagandists boast about their democracy. Actually members of the Communist Party, commissars, officers, officials, directors of factories, writers and those with large incomes all show class consciousness. Caste is developing and favors go to those on the "inside." But to the world at large the preachment is "masses against the classes."

If the so-called "racists", because of the fact that they are racists, thereby become fascists, then by the same token all equalitarians are communists.

"The Cult of Equality" was written in the latter part of 1944, and since that time whole oceans of water have flowed under the bridge. The war has been won, India has obtained its freedom, great nations have declined in power, and Western civilization has been shattered to its foundation. Above the turmoil and suffering of the world there is suspended like a Damoclean sword the atom bomb. But the great troubles and fears that beset mankind are outside the province of this book.

What does concern me is the fact that in three years the movement for racial equality has made stupendous gains. The tide of propaganda is rising to full flood and it is carrying everything before it. In books, in the theatre and the movies, in radio and in religious activities, the effects have been revolutionary. The propaganda for doing away with so-called intolerance and racial bias has influenced court decisions, the practice of segregation and the attitude of millions of people. On the other hand, it has aroused animosities and has helped to create bitterness and greater intolerance. The attempt to do away with prejudice and intolerance by law will not succeed. But equalitarian propaganda with organized effort to promote social equality has been most effective.

Since World War II the books on the subject of race have increased in number—practically all influenced by the equalitarian philosophy. Such books as Margaret Halsey's "Color Blind," openly and almost violently advocating racial intermixing, could not have

* It is interesting to note that the Second Internationale recognized only the white race. But the Third Internationale held at Moscow in March, 1919, unites fraternally men of all colors.

achieved much success a decade ago. Yet some of America's leaders endorsed with extravagant praise this devastating book.

But more insidious are novels with the theme of love between Negroes and whites, or their intermarriage and the resulting consequences. It would seem that all authors are getting onto this band wagon. It affords an opportunity for unknown and indifferent writers to sell books. Even Sinclair Lewis in "King's Blood Royal" writes about this unpleasant subject—with loss to his reputation as an author but undoubtedly gain to his pocketbook. However, so effective was this mediocre effort of the Nobel prize winner that a Unitarian minister in Wisconsin renounced the white race and "joined" the Negro race. Many other books, too numerous to mention, contain plots revolving around the Negro-white situation. All of them paint lurid pictures—usually lynching scenes—about the "oppressed" race, dwell on the baneful result of prejudice, or show that racial inter-marriages are successful and happy.

The theatre, the most conservative of the arts, has felt the effect of equalitarian propaganda. Not only are plays about racial matters—all equalitarian in tone—being put on the stage with increasing frequency, but many plays, particularly musical comedies, include parts for Negroes. Of course, the plays are plays "with a message" and for this reason generally do not succeed. The insertion of Negro parts with Negro actors in musical comedies might be thought to be necessary to "catch the Negro trade." But since Negroes are poor patrons of the theatre, this cannot be the actual reason. The real reason is that producers, directors and even the actors are so obsessed with the idea of propagating racial equality that they insist on using Negroes in the casts wherever they can.

Moving pictures from a box office standpoint may have more excuse for including Negroes in some productions since Negroes do patronize moving picture theatres. The equalitarian movement, however, has resulted in an organized effort to interfere with the production of moving pictures and their showing in theatres when some productions do not meet with approval of certain liberals.*

* For years the NAACP and the Negro press have complained about the Hollywood studios presenting Negroes in non-complimentary rolls. Yet at the same time they object to certain all-Negro films or "quickies" on the market. In February, 1947, an organization known as the International Film and Radio Guild threw a picket line around a theatre in Hollywood that was showing *Beale Street Mama*. This film, among others with colored casts, was an all-Negro production. But the I.F.R.G. called it inferior and insulting.

Now a surprising thing has happened. Negroes are objecting to the presentation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the theatre. Although the book helped to bring on the Civil War and the liberation of the slaves, and although the play has been one of the most successful plays ever written, having run continuously in the Northern states for three generations, yet we find that "progressive" groups are trying to put poor Old Tom on the shelf. To think that New England, which, so to speak, is the spiritual home of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—the scene of the greatest success of the book and the play—now repudiates the idea back of them, is to wonder whether Harriet Beecher Stowe sleeps peacefully in her grave. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was banned in Bridgeport, Conn., and in New Haven in 1945. Those in Bridgeport who protested the playing of *Uncle Tom* were various Negro groups, the local C.I.O. and the Communist Party, as well as the Bridgeport Pastors Association. In Springfield, Ill., the mayor attempted to ban *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because of the opposition of the NAACP, which contended that the play would incite "illwill between the races." A Federal judge granted an injunction restraining the mayor. The play was denounced by *The Daily Worker*.

In 1947 the *Song of the South*—the story of Uncle Remus—met with great opposition and Walt Disney was severely criticized. Harlem's Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, attempted to force the commissioner of Licenses of New York City to close down the *Song of the South*. He even wanted *Abie's Irish Rose* stopped! Powell telegraphed:

I call upon you to take immediate steps in your department and to initiate steps in any other department of the city to close immediately *Abie's Irish Rose* and *Song of the South*. These two pictures are not only an insult to American minorities, but an insult to everything that America stands for as a whole.

About the same time Jimmy Fidler said over the radio about the *Song of the South*: "The picture should immediately be withdrawn and the entire Hollywood industry share the cost, because it will mean a black eye for all the industry."

In 1947 *The Birth of A Nation*, D. W. Griffith's famous film, one of the greatest ever produced, was revived and shown around the country. Arousing bitter opposition, the exhibiting theatre in New York City was picketed by the NAACP with Walter C. White, Executive Secretary, and other officials in charge of the pickets. Newspapers refused its advertising. The picture was soon taken off.

The equalitarian and negrophile propaganda is so effective that in 1947 the Actors Equity Association passed a resolution that no

theatre worker "shall be required to perform in a theatre any time, any where in which racial discrimination is practiced, either directly or by implication on either side of the footlights." This resolution was directed particularly against theatres in Washington, D. C., where Negro theatre-goers are segregated. Thirty-six leading playwrights and dramatists likewise signed pledges to boycott Washington theatres.

The action of the Actors Equity Association was criticized by Brooks Atkinson of the New York Times. The boycotting of theatres by actors and playwrights is certainly a restricting of a means of expression. It is not the way to bring about social equality desired by so many people.*

Thus, art, ideas and freedom of speech are all at the mercy of intolerant minority groups.

The various religious sects seem to be vying with each other in their stampede to do away with what is called "racism" and segregation. Within a period of ten days in the Spring of 1946 three of the largest religious organizations in America—the Federal Council of Churches in America, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Young Men's Christian Association—went on record as being opposed to segregation in churches. The Catholic Church, of course, has opposed segregation right along, and in May of 1947 the Catholic Interracial Council of Los Angeles attacked the California statute prohibiting interracial marriage. In September, 1947, the Archbishop of St. Louis threatened to excommunicate certain members who objected to the admission of Negro children to white schools unless the objections were withdrawn. The Equalitarians have made their greatest gains with the churches because anyone who opposes segregation is put down as un-Christian.

The decisions of courts are influenced by the propaganda of minority groups. In 1947 the Supreme Court of the United States

* The attitude of the theatre today aroused George Jean Nathan who in *Esquire Magazine* wrote:

One of the alarming aspects of our contemporary theatre is its race prejudice and racial discrimination. To observe the theatre of a democratic nation, whose chief tenet has always been that all men are born free and equal, discriminating against whites in favor of Negroes is a matter for some concern. The discrimination is increasingly unmistakable. It is also in a way understandable. But the prospect remains, if things continue at the present pace, that the day may come when one will have to go down to the Barter Theatre in Virginia to see a white actor on a stage.

reversed a Mississippi murder verdict, and ordered that a Negro be given a new trial because there were no Negroes on the grand jury which indicted him and none on the petty jury which convicted him. The New York Times announced the court's decision in these triumphant words: "Court Saves Negro Doomed by Whites"—no mention of the fact that the Negro might have doomed himself by the act of murder.

In this decision the Supreme Court in a manner reversed itself, because not long before it had affirmed the conviction of criminals in New York City by so-called "blue ribbon" juries. No matter who the criminal, the better the jury, the fairer the verdict.

In ordering a new trial for the Mississippi murderer there was no contention that he was not guilty. The reversal was based solely on the fact that no Negroes had anything to do with his conviction. The practical effect of such a decision may make it difficult to convict Negroes in some sections of the South and may lead to an increase in lynching.

The so-called civil rights provisions of the Constitution are being extended by court decisions. If every law violator and every disputant can go into the Federal Courts because it is alleged that his civil rights are violated, then we might as well do away with our State courts all together. This would be economical since there are 3,000 counties in the United States all with sheriffs and law enforcement officers, as well as several thousand local judges, district attorneys, appellate courts. Of course, the Federal courts would have to be enlarged and we would have additional law-enforcement officers controlled from Washington. But the expense would not be as great. Only the liberties of the people would be restricted. The success of the United States as a republic is based on the fact that it is a federation of local governments, themselves divided and subdivided, with the national government concerning itself with those problems which pertain to the nation as a whole. The more the Federal Government interferes with the affairs of each state, city or county, the less liberty there will be for each citizen.

Among the few points that the equalitarians emphasize in their propaganda are: first, the abolishment of poll tax laws in the South, and, second, the enactment of an anti-lynching law. Every equalitarian speaker and writer emphasizes them. In a chapter of this book I have shown their unimportance. But erecting these straw men and then knocking them down on the radio, in speech making and in newspapers and magazine articles is effective propaganda.

The fight against the poll tax is continuous, but the pressure to enact an anti-lynching law is tremendous. The South it would seem is a hotbed of lynching activity. These same enthusiastic, anti-Southerners forget that there are anti-social acts in other states as well. In New York City in 1947 when Congressman Marcantonio was re-elected, a poll watcher was murdered. In that great metropolis there is one murder a day on the average. During the year 1946 in the whole United States there were 8,000 homicides, yet in all of England there were only five or six murders during the same period of time. Instead of organizing against lynching, why not organize against murder?

I am not antagonistic to unions or union labor, but I want to point out that murder, mayhem and wounding and loss of property due to the anti-social and disorderly activities of strikers and union sympathizers are so great that nobody has kept any record of it. Why do not all these reformers and anti-lynching enthusiasts fight for the passage of a law to prevent the loss of life, the beatings, the inflicting of wounds and the enormous damage to property resulting from some union activities?

In international matters the Russians are using much of our equalitarian and negrophile propaganda to further their purposes. "Listening to the Russin speeches," said a writer in the New York Times, "one also gets the impression that they believe they have found the Achilles' heel of the United States and Britain." This refers to the unfair way which we are said to be treating the Negroes in the United States, as well as Britain's treatment of them in Africa and the West Indies. The Russians are also taking our anti-lynching talk as a basis for much of their propaganda. In 1947 there was one lynching in the United States. In Russia there were twenty million slaves in concentration camps, enduring cruelties and terrible hardships and dying in great numbers; yet we have people in this country asserting that we should do away with segregation and enact an anti-lynching law in order to influence the Russians.

When "The Cult of Equality" was published the War was still being fought. Thus many references in the first edition were topical. The book has since been carefully revised and references to the War put in the past tense. A few sentences and paragraphs have been omitted and some added. Only one major change has been made in the author's observations—that referring to the employment of Negro policemen. There is no change in the facts listed or conclusions reached in the book, and this edition is substantially the same as the first.

Preface to the First Edition

DURING the past twenty years hundreds of books and pamphlets and thousands of newspaper and magazine articles have been printed which enunciate or advocate a belief in the equality of races. Some of this equalitarian literature is the result of the scientific doubts of a few anthropologists and sociologists, but for the most part it is the expression of a dissatisfied minority seeking to achieve social equality.

In the same period few books or articles have been written to defend the theory of the inequality of races. Little is being done to offset the propaganda of those who are trying to establish racial equality. It would seem that the equalitarians are winning their case before the court of public opinion by default.

Perhaps most people believe that the white race is a superior race and that it is not necessary to refute the obviously fallacious arguments of those who seek to prove that all races are equal. But their complacency may be due for a rude shock. In English-speaking countries, particularly the United States, those asserting the equality of races are convincing many by the vigor of their propaganda and the very volume of their printed matter that their theories are true. It is high time that someone file a "majority report". Or, as a member of the court, hand down a dissenting opinion. With this in mind my book is offered to the public. It is written in an effort to bring to the attention of thinking people the necessity of preserving the purity and integrity of the white race.

"The Cult of Equality" contains no new-found truths. In the main its arguments are old, some dating back to the time before the advent of the sciences of anthropology and ethnology. The arguments are familiar to many. In fact it is the refutation of these arguments that has so concerned the new school of thought which asserts that all races are equal.

But a new generation is with us, and the old truths must be refreshed and vitalized and placed before the young men and women of today. To this end I have shown that the age-old idea of the inequality of races is still valid. I have studied the latest evidence presented by many scholars and investigators, and find that such evidence strengthens this belief.

There is not, however, unanimity of opinion about racial superiority or inequality among one division of scientists, the anthropologists. Some, perhaps the smaller number, among these assert that there is no difference between the races except the superficial differences of color, hair, and other slight physiological variations. Others maintain the conventional view of the superiority of the Caucasian race. And still others, more cautious, say that Caucasians are probably superior but that this superiority has not been proved.

The first group say in effect that black is white, that racial differences are only skin deep. The second group deny that the differences are only skin deep, and say that differences are noticeable in the mental and psychical as well as physical constitutions of the races. The third group make no categorical assertions, but their attitude of doubt weighs opinion toward the theory of Caucasian racial superiority—it is a Scotch verdict of “not proven”.

Anthropologists, studying skulls and bones, must generalize from incomplete evidence. Except by the study of skeletal remains, they have no other method of comparing physically the men who lived in the distant past with those of other eras, or with those now living. The skeleton is the “base” of the animal, and the size and shape of the cranium of importance in the physiology of any of the vertebrata, but from bare bones one can only describe approximately the form that enclosed these bones, and measure by guess work only the intelligence of the brain once locked up in the brain case. Anthropologists are used to dealing in “ifs”, “possibly’s” and “probably’s”. Hence there is room for divergence of opinion. This tendency to dissent is likewise evidenced in the study of the living races of mankind.

The professors of anthropology and their students who specialize in this important branch of learning are few. Their work is little known to the general public. Most are immersed in their studies. Now and then one writes a book for the general reader. These occasional books often expound an extreme theory such as that of the equality of all races, their authors becoming “the” authorities to racial propagandists. The opinions of two or three of these authorities I shall attempt to refute. It is not for a layman to rush in where anthropologists disagree, but the fact that they do disagree shows that in some respects the science is far from being an exact one. The intelligent reader must examine the facts that

all the authorities agree are facts, and, using common sense, form his own judgment.

It must be understood that I am not trying to belittle the science of anthropology, which includes ethnology, anthropometry and sociology, for it is the study of Man, and, therefore, a noble science. If “the proper study of Mankind is Man”—his physical and mental attributes as well as his spiritual side—his past as well as his present—then anthropology should be the most important and best known of all the sciences. And we should utilize the knowledge that its professors impart to develop a higher type of human being, and to create in the future a greater civilization than the world has ever seen. Unfortunately, the science of anthropology does not occupy a place of much importance in today’s educational system or in the estimation of the general public. Let us hope that this neglect will soon be remedied.

At present our greatest difficulty is getting at the truth. Some do not know it, a few misrepresent the truth because it serves their purpose best, and others keep quiet because they fear the attacks of organized groups.

In fact the truthful writer is unpopular. He makes more enemies than he does friends. But aside from the “hot water” that a controversial writer jumps into, it is easy for the well-meaning educator or the scientist who writes about such prosaic matters as bread, butter, coffee or tobacco to get into trouble. Those who prepare the bulletins for U. S. Government departments have found this out. Several years ago a bulletin, issued by the Home Economic Division of the Department of Agriculture, stated that white bread does not contain the vitamins that are found in brown bread. Thousands of telegrams from millers, wheat farmers, elevator owners, merchants and bankers poured in protesting against the circulation of this pamphlet. Since that time a way has been found to restore Vitamin B to white flour, but when the bulletin appeared it contained an unpleasant truth, and its author was mortified to have his efforts to improve the diet of our people resisted and his facts denounced as untrue. An extended debate took place in Congress recently over the comparative merits of butter and oleomargarine and their respective vitamin contents. Scientists appeared before committees, some testifying that butter in the diet is better than oleo, and others that oleo is just as good as butter dietetically. We all know the scientific controversy that has raged for years over

the harmful effects, or lack of them, in the use of tobacco and coffee. Such controversies illustrate the difficulty of propagating the truth, and the man who tries is often denounced for his pains.

These reflections arise when I consider that in the realm of anthropology alone my opinions will meet with opposition. And my conclusions will be assailed by many. But I have based my arguments and conclusions on an analysis of known facts; and, where alleged facts are disputed or undetermined, I have been guided by the law of probability. I have tried to furnish enough data so that each reader, reasoning by induction, can determine for himself the soundness of my premises.

In generalizing on a subject so vast and complicated as that of the problems of race, one can only approximate the truth. In comparing a million people with another million, we must work in averages. Large groups will overlap each other. For instance, if the most intelligent of a group of Negroes from West Africa could be segregated they might outpoint and prove to be superior to a group of Italians from the lowest strata of Italian society. A few individuals might possess high I. Q.'s, and equal or even surpass the brightest Caucasians. There are cultured Chinamen who in intelligence, education and general knowledge are far ahead of the vast majority of American people. There are Hindus whose knowledge of philosophy places them on a plane equal to or above that of the philosophers of any nation. There are Negroes from Jamaica, jet black and of pure African descent, who are graduates of Oxford, and whose culture surpasses that of the average Englishman. There are Negroes in the United States who in education, culture and refinement are way ahead of many white people. As Edmund Burke said, "You cannot draw up a bill of indictment against a whole people". Neither can we make charges against a whole race without allowing for exceptions. But I do believe in a racial inferiority which exists *en masse*. My generalizations about the Negro refer particularly to those of pure blood, or to those who are at least three-fourths full Negro. As in the United States part of the Negro population is more white than black, many of the statements about Negroes generally have to be modified. Mongolians and Malay-Polynesians are not quite as mixed, but as races they can be classified as inferior to whites but superior to blacks.

I want particularly to emphasize that my conclusions apply to races as a mass and not to individuals. I do not want to reflect on

the intelligence, integrity and the culture of individuals who have shown themselves to be superior persons.

I have several qualms about writing this book. There is, first, the fear of hurting the feelings of my friends of the Negro race or some splendid Chinese I have met. Also in pointing out the physical variations of the races, some might think that I am making fun of, or treating lightly the physical disadvantages exhibited by Negroes, Mongolians and those of other races. This, of course, is far from my intention.

Nor do I want to seem to be trying to keep down any individual or group of people. The right to rise is the most glorious privilege afforded by a democracy. It is the essence of freedom. There is nothing more inspiring than to see a bright, ambitious young man with high aspirations striving to learn and to advance himself. No matter what his color, race or creed our hearts go out to him who struggles to improve his condition or that of his family. I will do all I can to help any individual, no matter how lowly, to help himself. When I was ten years old I taught several little Negro boys to read and write, and a year or so later I taught to read, a Negro man, who worked for my family. He afterwards became a preacher. I mention this personal reminiscence, not as a great accomplishment in the educational field, but to indicate that I have ever been sympathetic to those who want to learn. We should endeavor to bring democracy to all the world so that every individual may have the right as well as the opportunity to obtain an education or to better his economic welfare.

I have no intention of hindering the work of inter-racial committees organized in the South to bring about a solution of racial problems. Nor is it my desire to cause dissension while the war is on, but only to meet the issue that is being forced by others who are using the wartime psychology to advance a disintegrating ideology—a philosophy of equality that can only further the development of racial antagonisms and arouse hate.

And it is not my intention to hamper our good neighbor policy when I generalize about conditions in Latin America. It is not the individual that is criticized, but it is always nations or peoples as a whole.

Least of all is it my idea to oppose the furtherance of the brotherhood of Man. Our feelings should be kindly toward all

other peoples. I think the words of a one-time citizen of New Orleans are among the noblest ever uttered. Sir Henry M. Stanley wrote in the North American Review nearly fifty years ago: "But in all my travels I have seen nothing more wonderful than this, that, in whatever disguise I found man, something in him seems to justify the belief that 'we are all the children of one Father'." The universal peace to which we all look forward can only come about by tolerance toward other nations and races. The spirit of the Nineteenth Century, as expressed in its science, its economics and its philosophy, represents an ideal towards which we still may aspire. Its "men of good will" gave to the world a lift and uplift that has never been equalled in any era. Let us continue that good work. We should give to backward peoples all the help possible. But in doing so, it is not necessary to belittle our own racial dignity.

"The Cult of Equality" is not a plea for intolerance. It is not a hate book. It makes no defense of the principle of treating darker colored races unfairly, or of exploiting backward peoples. Least of all does it advocate low wages, lesser economic opportunity or inadequate educational systems for Negroes.

It has been a disagreeable task to point out unpleasant truths, to call attention to racial deficiencies or to make invidious comparisons. I would have preferred to write on a theme where I could offer constructive ideas, or to bring a message of hope and inspiration. I would then avoid the unpleasantness and the vituperation my effort will bring upon me. But I have been forced to defend the theory of racial superiority, because no one else has undertaken it at this time. As *amicus curiae*, representing the Caucasian race, I make my plea.

Let us maintain the purity of the white race and the whole world will benefit. The people of the western nations will continue to invent machines to reduce drudgery, raise the standard of living, and add to the comforts and conveniences of the masses. Their science will continue to improve the food supply, increase longevity, decrease disease and sickness and promote the general welfare. They will still strive to bring education to every individual, and, on the spiritual side, the theism and ethics of the Christian religion. To dilute its pure stock by fusion or intermarriage is to destroy the white race, and to destroy it is to pull down the temple of civilization.

S. O. L.

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INTRODUCTION

IN the world today among the cross currents of ideas that swirl and cut through each other there flows an equalitarian stream of thought, a Gulf Stream in reverse, that, instead of warmth and life, brings cold and eventual death to superior peoples. Out of the democratic ideology there emerges a theory of equality, a doctrine that proclaims that all races of men are equal—biologically, mentally and socially.

The equalitarian philosophy has been developed by many kinds of prophets and hierarchs as well as neophytes. Among its votaries are idealists, who are led to this way of thinking by their kindly instincts. Liberals and intellectuals, like the abolitionists before the Civil War, enter the arena to fight for equality. Unrealistic, they are, in this early stage of human evolution, endeavoring to bring about the millenium so that the lion may lie down with the lamb and racial prejudices ordained by nature be eliminated. Those most active, of course, in the dissemination of the idea of universal equality belong to the darker skinned races. This is natural since they have a direct interest in the effects of their propaganda.

In addition, there are numerous proselytes, such as politicians and statesmen, sometimes sincere, who endeavor to placate and win the favor of great masses of non-Caucasian people by promoting the idea of racial equality. In the United States there are opportunists and demagogues, who in order to gain the support of non-white voters in "pivotal" cities and states, add their plea for the obliteration of all racial differences.

Thus we have what might be called a "Cult of Equality". It is a cult which is gaining many adherents. It is in fact a dangerous cult, and, if it grows and its tenets become acceptable to the majority of people, it will have a devastating effect upon our civilization.

The vogue of the equalitarian cult is growing. And herein lies a great danger, for the idea that all men are equal and all races are equal is indeed false, and its adoption as a working philosophy will have a deterrent effect on the progress of the whole human race. Not only is this philosophy fallacious, it is biologically wrong. Carried out to its logical conclusion it will prevent the natural development and progress of the various races and will reduce them all to the same dead level.

The purpose of those who assert and advocate the recognition of racial equality is to lift up the lowly, and to elevate what have always been known as inferior races to a position of equality with that of the Caucasian race. In so far as it helps to raise the standard of living of backward peoples their motive is praiseworthy. But, if in their effort to push up on the scale of civilization several races now at or near the bottom they pull down the race that is high up on the scale, those who preach the doctrine of racial equality are doing great harm to the cause of universal progress.

The equalitarians do not confine themselves to abstract discussions. They have definite aims and a program of accomplishment. On the agenda is, first, "freedom" for Negroes in the United States—as if they haven't it already—and, second, freedom from exploitation by Anglo-Saxons of all backward countries such as India, Indo-China, East Netherlands, Africa and the islands of the West Indies.

They ask for equal economic opportunity, equal suffrage and equal social rights. Excepting a small group who openly advocate the intermarriage of races to promote "hybrid vigor", amalgamation and intermarriage is aimed for only indirectly. This last will follow if the doctrine of racial equality is universally accepted. So the ultimate aim of the proponents of the theory of equality is one race of mankind—one color, one mentality, one physiognomy, one culture.

What a prospect for the future!

The fair-skinned, blue-eyed and golden-haired people will all disappear. Instead of a white skin, soft silken hair, finely chiseled nose, expressive mouth, and a brow like Hyperion's, our man of the future will be a blend of the physical characteristics of the races of today. The typical *homo sapiens* will then have a dark skin, straight, coarse hair, flat nose, thick lips and slanting eyes. A poet of a thousand years hence will not be able to write to his Blumine about her pink cheeks and rosy lips. The most glorious animal the world has ever seen with all its beauty of person and its superior mentality will have passed away.*

* Blonde northern peoples have ever excited the admiration of darker Southerners. The classic story of Pope Gregory, the Great, is familiar. Walking one day through the Forum he saw some light-haired, fair-skinned, blue-eyed slaves for sale and inquiring whence they came, he was told that they were Angles. The Pope remarked: "They have the faces of angels and should be co-heirs with the angels in Heaven." Gregory with Shakespearian humor carried his punning a little further. When told that they came from the Province of Deira, he said: "Deira, Yea, verily, they shall be saved

As for the freedoms sought by the believers in racial equality, in a sense, they are not freedoms at all. What does the freedom of India mean? India was "free" before Europeans arrived on her shores, and yet the Hindus had no conception of political freedom or ideas of the rights of the common man. Since the advent of the Westerners, whose rule at first may have been harsh, the peoples of India have enjoyed more actual freedom than they ever had before. However, India is now free again. On Aug. 15, 1947 Great Britain turned over the government to the Indians. As soon as the British troops moved out, the Hindus and Moslems started fighting and the internecine warfare of pre-English days began again. Over 200,000 were killed in Punjab during the first two weeks of freedom. The Indians may find that being "exploited" by the English is better than being murdered by each other.

The freedom sought for the East Netherlands, Africa* and the islands of the West Indies, may be of the same doubtful value. All these peoples are protected in their rights. They receive justice in the courts and enjoy the advantages of civilization. They do not suffer from famine, and the benefits of modern medical science are theirs.

The Negroes of the United States already have their freedom. Yet in the country that has offered that race its greatest opportunity, some of its leaders complain of the oppression they endure.

Regardless of the merits of the demands of militant equalitarians, their aggressiveness is disturbing racial relations everywhere. Racial consciousness is being aroused all over the world. Between countries inhabited by different races there is a racial problem, but it becomes very serious in countries like the United States and in South Africa where a large body of colored people live among the whites—living with them but not a part of them.

A few Chinese are aware of the racial prejudices of the Caucasians. The Japanese have ridiculed the boasted superiority of the

from God's ire (*de ira*) and called to the mercy of Christ." He then asked the name of the king of that country. Learning that it was "AElia", he said: "Then must Allelulia be sung in AElia's land." But Pope Gregory was serious in his intentions and then and there determined to bring Christianity to the faraway country of England. He sent St. Augustine to establish the Church in Angle-land.

* Three Pan-African Congresses have been held. The first in 1919 was organized by W. E. B. DuBois, and six Negro members of the French Chamber of Deputies were among the Negroes from all over the world who attended.

white race and a small number of Hindus and East Indians are agitating against racial discrimination.

But for the present and for a long time to come the feeling against the Anglo-Saxon race, particularly by the Mongolians, East Indians and Malaysians, will be limited to a few educated persons of those races, and not all of these. However, Chinese leaders are agitating the matter of equality. In 1919 when the peace treaty was being debated at Versailles, the Chinese and the Japanese delegates attempted to amend the League of Nations covenant to require the recognition of racial equality. The Chinese are again pressing this point. Although they cannot handle their own affairs and are in a bad way militarily and economically the representatives of China in this country are requesting that any organization established to give future security to the world acknowledge the principle of racial equality. In this request the Chinese are backed by some American groups. The Woman's International League requested that President Roosevelt instruct the American delegates to include a racial equality clause in the proposed world organization.

The dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Caucasian peoples towards other races, although capable of being aggravated, has not reached dangerous proportions. Hundreds of millions of people—the Mongolians, East Indians, Malaysians, Polynesians, Africans, and other dark-skinned peoples—do not know anything about the doctrine of equality and care less.

Continued agitation, however, may in the course of time bring on racial disturbances, create ill will and in the end instead of universal peace there will be a war of races.*

Much has been said about the fall of Singapore and the capture of Java by the Japanese being due to the failure of the natives to support the British and Dutch armies. This disloyalty was alleged to have been caused by social distinctions, such as the snobbery of British and Dutch social clubs which restricted their membership to men of the white race. The exclusiveness of several clubs may have

* Dr. Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald fund and chairman of the newly-created American Council on Race Relations, in a lecture delivered before the American Association Institute of Race Relations on July 14, 1944, warned the western world, "If European nations continue to hold the east in subjection and continue to treat oriental peoples as inferiors, the peoples of Asia will swiftly rise in a world rebellion and throw off the yoke of the western white men."

hurt the pride of a few native princes and influential people. But the masses could not have been affected by the existence of clubs whose membership is numbered in the hundreds.

Newspaper writers in the United States writing for a wide and unthinking public, seize upon the idea of British snobbishness and make a mountain out of a mole hill. They make much of the fact that exclusive clubs in India did not admit even a wealthy rajah. These writers fail to realize that in every small town in the United States there is a country club which is exclusive in that it takes pleasure and pride in keeping some people out. This social snobbery may be regrettable, but it is widely prevalent, and one does not have to go to Calcutta or Hong Kong or Singapore to see it in operation.

Edgar Snow of the editorial staff of the Saturday Evening Post in his recent book, "People on Our Side", states that Asiatics bitterly resent race discrimination by the British. Educated Indians resent being kept out of the exclusive clubs. Mr. Snow in an interview with Sir Dinshaw Pettit, prominent Indian, upon asking why the Burmese sided with the Japs and helped to drive out the British, received this reply: "It is because they hate the British for their color prejudice and superior ways. All orientals hate the British because of this stupid bias."

The fall of Singapore was not due to the fact that certain proud Javanese could not get into the polo club there. In spite of Cecil Brown and his lurid accounts of why the Japanese conquered Sumatra and Java so quickly, the natives were loyal to their so-called masters and fought as well as they could.* They did not desert in great numbers as did the Italians, for instance, when they realized that they were losing.

All this points to the fact that social distinctions are not so important in some peoples' minds as they are in others. The ordinary people of a country pay no attention to the snobberies or social pretensions of the 1% or 2% of the population who specialize in exclusiveness. When war comes the masses will fight for their country. All the European countries have aristocracies, but this does not prevent their populations from either defending their home lands when

* Professor Raymond Kennedy of Yale University at a meeting of the American Ethnological Society in 1942 said that the Netherland administration of its colonies in the Pacific was one of the best among colonial powers. The Dutch, he added, had done their utmost to maintain native law.

invaded; or taking the aggressive, as did the Nazis in Germany under the supposed leadership of Hitler—but actually under the domination of the 20,000 Junker families who have ruled Germany for hundreds of years.

During the Civil War the planter aristocrats of the South were able to obtain the support of the masses of people, although these masses were generally not slave owners. They fought with the aristocrats to defend a system which was not advantageous to them. These poor white people did not object to the social pretensions of a few leading families.

Snobbery and social exclusiveness are based on a peculiar psychological quirk. Most people want somebody to look up to. This is the reason why the trappings and the fol-de-rol of royalty have for so many thousands of years enabled kings to wield so much power.

In England the people rule and its government is a splendid example of practical democracy. The King of England has no political power, yet the love for the monarchy—with its courts, its knight-hoods, its traditions and its glamour—is so strong in England and throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations that the social power of the King almost by itself has been the cohesive force that has kept the British Empire from falling to pieces.

The dissatisfaction and the bitterness which arise in all social relations generally come from those who get snubbed. That they should show resentment is natural, and they ought to have the right of protesting. But, because there are gradations in the social scale, and because some always claim to be superior to others, it is against the grain of human nature for democracy to work in social relations.

Politically, economically and in courts of justice all men have the same rights and should indeed be equal. But socially, a distinction should be made. The upright, honorable and decent citizen does not care to associate with the criminal, the renegade, and the ne'er-do-well. Who will deny that this social distinction is not only right, but that society would be in danger of destruction if the best citizens associated with its disreputable members and condoned their malefactions and their failings?

Propagandists in the United States are using the so-called racial discontent in the Orient to advance the cause of the Negroes in our country. Their argument is that we must not antagonize the yellow

and brown races by exhibiting racial prejudice, and to prove that we really are sincere we must then show no racial prejudice at home.

Even some southern white leaders are influenced by the propaganda for racial equality. On April 5, 1944, Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and a member of the National War Labor Board, delivered an address at Tuskegee Institute in which he said:

The American Negro is in the forefront of the fight against any fascist trends in America,* and is in the forward march of the people's evolution against the counter march of the fascist revolution. More hundred of millions of colored peoples in the United Nations are involved in the outcome of this global war than the combined populations of the axis forces. With the victory of the democracies, human destiny moves toward freedom, economic equality of opportunity, the gradual fulfillment for all peoples of the noblest aspirations of the brothers of man and the sons of God without regard to color or creed, religion or race, in the world of human brotherhood. This is the American dream.

In mentioning Dr. Graham I do not mean to imply that he is a member of the Equalitarian Cult. He is indeed liberal in his views and like most Americans is an idealist. He does not, I am sure, believe in social equality or the final amalgamation of all the races. But his interest is world wide, and the "millions of colored peoples" have his sympathy. In trying to improve their condition, he unconsciously advocates "freedom", as if they had no freedom today.

The Cult of Equality is strongest in the United States. Its propaganda is most prolific here. It slashes out with a long sword—hacking at racial prejudice in the homeland and cutting at it in lands of the yellow, brown and black races. The race question is forced upon a world wracked with famine and the aftermath of war.

In a recent survey of public opinion made by Edward L. Bernays for the American Mercury it was shown that among the most important matters of public concern is that of race relations. That the problem of the Negro in the United States is serious is admitted by leading sociologists, educators and statesmen.† "Racial animosi-

* Here Dr. Graham unwittingly furthers the charge made by Pro-Negro writers since World War II that all who preach the superiority of one race over another are Hitlerites.

† De Tocqueville wrote in 1831: "The most formidable of all the ills which threaten the future existence of the Union arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory."—Democracy in America.

tics and competitions are assuming a most ominous and sullen aspect", Justice Robt. H. Jackson of the U. S. Supreme Court recently told the New York State Bar Association. In many large cities committees of prominent citizens have been organized to improve racial relations.

Race riots in Detroit and Harlem have brought forcibly to the public's attention the seriousness of the racial problem in the United States. Turner Catledge, representing the New York Times, visited some of the largest cities and discussed the race problem with both white and Negro leaders.

In speaking of the Harlem riots, Mr. Catledge said in the New York Times of August 8, 1943:

They helped further to uncover one of the most embarrassing and most dangerous conditions in the United States today. It is the situation, growing tenser by the week, between the Negro and white races. In spots throughout the country, particularly in the acutely crowded industrial centers in Northern and border States, we are witnessing new symptoms of an old sore which has been festering and breaking forth intermittently for four-score years.

Again in the New York Times on December 19, 1943, Mr. Catledge wrote:

After months of repeating the statement in various parts of the country, this correspondent has yet to hear anyone disagree with the assertion that relations between its white and Negro populations constitute the greatest social problem confronting the United States today or likely to confront it after the war.

In the summer of 1944 the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver made a survey of public opinion among white Americans. To the question, "How will whites and Negroes get along after the war?", 39 % answered "Not so well"; 23 %, "same as now"; 23 %, "better than now"; and 15 %, "don't know". Thus in the United States there exists between the races antagonisms and dissensions, which are aggravated by the writings and incitations of radicals both white and colored.

Racial propaganda is so extensive that few other subjects take up so much space in newspapers and magazines and time on the radio. Books and pamphlets on the subject of race pour from the presses.

The interest in racial matters is worldwide. Much of the propaganda put out by the Japanese during the war harped on the

race question. This propaganda told all the Orientals—the Chinese, the East Indians, the Javanese, the Polynesians—that the white race was not a better race nor a dominant race; that its peoples were not then and could never be again masters of the Orient. Their theme was "Asia for the Asiatics."*

The German propaganda machine during the war attempted to stir up the colored races, particularly East Indians and Africans, not by emphasizing their racial equality but by attempting to dissatisfy them with their English and French rulers. German Propaganda to the colored people in the United States suggested that the Negroes were not enjoying the democracy they were fighting for.†

It is not necessary here to discuss the Nazi attacks on Jews for the reason that there is no such thing as a Jewish race. The antagonism of the Nazis against that unfortunate people was of the same kind and composition as their feeling toward the Poles, although the reasons given were different.

The East Indians used propaganda to influence the English-speaking peoples particularly. They were highly successful as they gained the support of intellectuals in every occidental country. In fact, the most effective appeals for the liberation of India were

* Clyde E. Miller of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis said in Washington on Sept. 16, 1943, in reference to Japanese radio propaganda: "They say in effect that our promises to the people of the world are built on hypocrisy. They say that the people of the Far East can have no faith in the promise of white Americans when they deny equal rights to their fellow citizens who are not white."

† According to an Associated Press dispatch from Madrid on April 29, 1944, German propagandists have issued a counterfeit edition of the American picture magazine *Life*, dated July 5, 1943, containing pictures, many of them years old, designed to make readers believe permanent, bloody strife exists between Negroes and whites in the United States.

The Nazi production was printed on slick paper of the same type used by the American publication. The cover was a reproduction of the cover of an issue of "Life" last year showing United States soldiers carrying a dead comrade and entitled "American combat dead."

There was no mention anywhere in the propaganda magazine that it was issued by other than Americans. The first page inside the cover was an exact reproduction of the American magazine, with "Letters to the Editor" and a column of advertising. Thereafter the magazine pages were devoted to pictures of race incidents in the United States, some many years old. It was obviously an effort to give the reader the impression race riots occurred daily all over the United States. The concluding page said, "An

made by liberals in these English-speaking countries. Gandhi led the propagandists in India. But in England he was supported by liberal-minded intellectuals such as G. B. Shaw whose influence is greater in England and America.

In their foreign propaganda the East Indians did not emphasize the racial question, but among their own people they decried the so-called superiority of the white race. Although India now is free from British rule, undoubtedly the racial feeling against the white man is strong and growing stronger. India is a field for equalitarian propaganda.

Negro racial propaganda in the United States has reached an almost alarming stage. It is creating dissension and discord, and because of its bitterness and aggressiveness is actually a disservice to the great mass of colored people. A small group of Negro intellectuals is responsible for this avalanche of protests, complaints, recriminations, and demands for social equality. They are encouraged by white "liberals", and magazines like *Time* and newspapers like *PM* support their "cause" with pictures and vigorously written articles. There is, of course, the Negro press with its 339 newspapers, magazines and bulletins. In 1940, 155 of these newspapers had a total circulation of 1,123,000†.

The propagandists not only endeavor to help Negroes in the United States, but are organizing to help Africans, West Indians, East Indians and all dark-skinned peoples to obtain their "freedom".‡

In September, 1944, there was held in London a conference of the League of Colored Peoples, most of the members of which are British Negroes. This conference adopted protocols which it is

old ugly fact in United States life is the prejudice and misunderstanding between the white and black races."

This fake issue of *Life* was distributed in Spain to influence the Spanish.

* Mohandas K. Gandhi after his release in an interview in August, 1944, with a representative of the London News Chronicle said: "Freedom of India will bring hope to Asiatics and other exploited nations. Today, there is no hope for the Negroes, but Indian freedom will fill them with hope."

† There is a Negro English language newspaper published in Nigeria. In Africa there is also one in French and another in Spanish. There are two magazines for Negroes in Africa.

‡ West Indian Negroes would like the United States to take over all of the islands of the West Indies, but they are afraid that if it does the color line would be raised. This makes them hesitate to press the point.

asking all the governments of the United Nations to adopt. The charter asks for equal educational, economic, legal and political rights for all persons irrespective of sex or color, and the abandonment of discriminatory practices in all public places. The conference also requested that various governments—they are actually making a demand on the British—lay out comprehensive plans to put these equal rights into effect, and asked that "special and adequate funds be set aside for these purposes". (I take it that they want the English people to pay for the benefits which they demand.) The League of Colored Peoples is also asking, "That the indigenous peoples of all dependent territories shall be granted full self-government at the earliest possible opportunity."

Says Henrietta Buckmaster in the *Christian Science Monitor*: "Most white people would be surprised at the average Negro's concern with African, Indian, Chinese, West Indian political developments."*

A most surprising instance of the concern of Negroes about world affairs is the story of Lord Halifax's visit to Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Drew Pearson in his column on March 31, 1943, tells about it. It seems that aside from interesting himself in the Negroes of the British West Indies, White told Vicount Halifax that the settling of the East Indian question would have a great effect upon Negro war morale in the United States. White proposed that the British allow us to send a commission of top ranking Americans to India to investigate British rule there and to assist the British in settling the question.†

* "... The heroic struggle of the British Indians for independence is acclaimed; Japan's rise to power in the East—even her invasion of China—is regarded as a source of great encouragement; every instance of rebellion in Africa, the Dutch East Indies, the West Indies, is hailed as a victory. . . . Every outbreak in Europe is considered of utmost importance to the dark races of the world. The internecine conflicts, the conflagrations in the white world are all regarded as certain signs of the ultimate decline and fall from dominance of the white races, upon which the dark peoples will invest the chancellorries of the world."—*Ralph J. Bunche*.

† Captain Eddie Rickenbacker (Feb. 4, 1944) said: "I think it is about time that some of us had the courage to stand on our hind legs and come out for America first, so that America can last. You've not going to raise the hundreds of millions of Untouchables in India—but I guarantee we can be lowered to their level in one generation."

The NAACP Secretary's suggestion was presumptuous—just imagine how we would feel if the British offered to send a committee over here to tell us how to handle the Negro situation! Since White's commission was to include Justice Felix Frankfurter and a prominent American Negro, it is a foregone conclusion that we would have had a report that would not have pleased the English. White's idea was not feasible in time of war, and nothing ever came of his suggestions. The Indian question has since been settled thanks to Gandhi, other Indian leaders, and far-seeing British statesmanship.

Now comes Paul Robeson,* celebrated actor, who wants justice for Africa. In a recent interview in the New York Times he said:

We shall have a tremendous lot to say about what happens in Africa. I have learned through conversations with English friends that the British conservative realizes that India is lost, and that now 'the gravy' is in Africa. The African problem is a very urgent one, and will come into the picture more and more.

Even Elsa Maxwell, play woman and cafe society dowager, takes a rap at international race prejudices. In fact she is "boiling mad" and in her column on February 18, 1944, she says: "We are fast becoming the most hated nation in the world . . . for, in our ivory towers of arrogance, we tyrannize and distort the lives of dark-skinned peoples wherever we find them."

In the United States propagandists are demanding that Negroes be allowed to vote in certain Southern states, that there be no dis-

* Paul Robeson's fulmination is not to be taken too seriously. Although he is one of the leaders of the Negro race, he is an embittered man. In his home the windows are kept closed and the shades pulled down so that he cannot look out upon a world of trouble. He apparently cannot or does not want to see the pretty sunlight, the bright clouds, the trees in the park or the vista of a great city. At one time Robeson was an expatriate. He went to live in Russia where all races are equal, and he said that he would never return to the United States. This country must be pretty good after all, because he is now back again, and his son is not growing up as he intended he should in Russia where there is no race discrimination. Upon his return Robeson said: "I realize that America gives her minority groups more of a chance than just about any country on Earth." Paul Robeson has been accused by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a pro-communist. In April 1947 Peoria, Ill., and Albany, N. Y., objected to his professional appearance. In May 1947 Pravda named Robeson as a "friend of Russia."

crimination against them in filling jobs, that hotels, theatres and restaurants shall be open to them, that in the South the "Jim Crow" law be done away with, that segregation be abolished, and, finally, that they be treated as social equals.

In addition to such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, many individuals are active in writing and talking to advance the cause of the Negro. Pearl Buck* is a propagandist for all dark-skinned peoples. So was Wendell Willkie. Mrs. Roosevelt has done more than her share to help along the fight for Negro equality in the United States.

A small group of scientists, anthropologists and psychologists have helped along the movement by advancing theories that are more or less unproved. Just as an expert can always be found to testify in court for one side or the other, so have these experts testified for the "defense"—that is, against the charge that the Negro belongs to an inferior race. I am not saying that the motives of these defense scientists are mercenary, or that they are insincere, but the truth is that not all of their fellow-scientists will agree with their conclusions. Just because a few professors assert that intelligence tests do not prove anything, or some authors assert that there is no such thing as inequality of races, we need not agree that they are right.

The United States Government itself is now active in spreading Negro racial propaganda. In the spring of 1943 the Office of War Information issued at Government expense an elaborate 72-page booklet, 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 10" in size. This booklet is replete with illustrations showing Negroes at work and at play and in uniform. There were 141 reproductions of photographs in rotogravure. Two million copies of the brochure were issued, and the cost to the taxpayers must have been not less than \$400,000. An article in it written by Chandler Owen, a Negro socialist, was supposed to tell about the war efforts of Negroes, but it is more an article about their achievements in the United States. There can be no objection to the facts as related, but one wonders why the United States Government should spend money frankly endeavoring to help the cause of a

* In an article in the New York Times, May, 1942, under the heading "Race Barriers Must Be Destroyed", Pearl Buck writes: "The white man has happened to hold power largely through his inventive skill in science." Yet almost in the same breath she says all races are equal. She doesn't mention the other Caucasian racial qualities that make that race dominant, such as initiative, aggressiveness, determination, thriftiness, and superior mentality.

minority group when other minority groups have not been treated in the same generous manner. The Government, as far as I know, has never gotten out a folder about the Indians* in the United States, telling what they have done to help the war effort; it has issued no booklet pleading the cause of the Jews; neither have Poles been favored with Government help through the Office of War Information; nor has any other minority racial group or association of American people been so honored.

More recently the Government released a moving picture called "The Negro Soldier". Its production by the U. S. Army Signal Corps occupied two years. This picture is pure propaganda, and there is no particular reason for its being produced by the United States Government.

During the war a publication was issued by a government agency, "The Writers War Board", to which leading writers, authors and poets contributed, and distributed to newspapers, magazines, and privately printed magazines who could use any of the material even without giving credit. Its purpose, of course, was to promote the sale of war bonds, warn against inflation, denounce our enemies, and build up wartime morale.

But the editors of the "Writers War Board" made it a point of including quite frequently articles which protested against race prejudice and which declaimed against racial inequalities in the United States. Besides the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Margaret Halsey contributed a short article entitled "Exploding the Myth". This was an extremely bitter tirade against race prejudice. It stated definitely that intelligence has no relation whatever to the amount of pigment in the skin, and proved it by citing the fact that a man who is sunburned is not more stupid than one who is not—a false analogy, of course. The article blames the deficiencies of the Negro on "cheap labor".

Even the United States Army assisted in propagandizing Negro accomplishments. If a Negro soldier performed a brave deed he received twice as much publicity as the similar behavior of a white soldier. Many reports came from the front—from the far Pacific, from Africa and from Italy—telling about the accomplishments of

* There were over 50,000 American Indians in the armed forces during World War II. As our Indian population is around 350,000, the proportion of Indian fighting men to the civilian population was greater than any other race in this country.

Negro troops. It would seem that the public relations departments of field headquarters were instructed to release special articles favorable to Negroes. We read no special bulletins telling of the accomplishments of Jews, Irishmen, Poles and other American groups. Why were Negro troops favored in matters of publicity?

The United States Office of Education is likewise propagandizing for the Negro. It is issuing opinions and criticisms of our educational system particularly with reference to how it affects the Negro. Although the Negro has made the most remarkable progress of any people recently except the Russians in improving its rate of literacy and in general educational advancement, Fred J. Kelly, Chief of the U. S. Office of Education, contends that the opportunities for Negroes are meagre. Mr. Kelly quotes a survey of Negro education in the South made by Ina Corinne Brown.

The assumption still persists that the Negroes of Africa were always primitive savages, knowing nothing of the arts and having no social organization beyond that of the small tribal units.

Even American Negroes are usually unaware of the fact that their African ancestors, for the most part, came from a region in which there had been developed complex social and political organizations, elaborate religious rituals, towns in which there were craft guilds with membership handed down from generation to generation, and where gold, bronze and ivory were fashioned into artistic objects that today grace European museums.*

On March 7th the U. S. Office of Education issued a report which advocated the mingling of white and Negroes in the institutions of higher learning in the South.

Thus we find various United States bureaus actively engaged in propaganda on the side of the Negro.

There is something to be said for some of the efforts to improve the general condition of the Negro. But that governmental departments should foment dissension by one-sided propaganda is regrettable to say the least.

A pamphlet entitled "The Races of Mankind"† is Negro propa-

* This statement is an exaggeration. It gives the wrong idea of the Negro savages in Africa. It fits in with the movement to glorify the achievements of the Negro.

† Published 1944 by the Public Affairs Committee Inc. of New York City. This organization was founded by grants from the Alfred P. Sloan and the

ganda of the best type—or shall I say the worst type—because while simply though subtly written, it contains many half truths which the authors generalize into statements of fact.

The skill with which the essay is written is admirable. Starting out with the assertion that we are all descendants of Adam and Eve and therefore all equal, it appeals to religious "fundamentalists". Tying in with the propaganda against Hitler it suggests that an assumption of the racial superiority of Caucasians is in keeping with Hitler's attitude towards the Jews, although the authors admit that Jews are not a separate race. The brochure points out that historians are expert on history—as if the best historians cannot make mistakes*; that sociologists are experts on social life; that psychologists are experts on human emotions and mental activities; and that anthropologists are experts on matters of race. As a matter of fact these particular sciences are not absolute in the sense that mathematics and chemistry and biology are. Each one possesses an organized body of knowledge. But so many factors are unknown and so many of their canons are mere theory that no votary of any of these sciences can be absolutely sure that all of his generalizations

Maurice and Laura Falk Foundations. Its announced purpose is to conduct educational campaigns on vital subjects without profit to itself. It has issued several million pamphlets, selling at ten cents each. These pamphlets are well written and well printed. On many subjects they are authoritative. However, many of them bear the impress of liberal social thought. Willard Edwards in the Washington Times-Herald of Sept. 18th under the heading, "Three Hundred Groups Flood United States Mail with Adverse Propaganda", said in reference to the Public Affairs Committee, Inc.: "Whatever the original purpose of this committee, we find one Maxwell S. Stewart now installed as its pamphlet editor. Stewart's record as a follower of communism is a long one. He was once associate editor of the Moscow Daily News, a Soviet-controlled organ. He taught in the Moscow Institute, was a member of the editorial council of Soviet Russia Today; a member of the national advisory board of the American Youth Congress, branded as subversive by the Attorney General; a member of the board of directors of the American-Russian Institute; a contributor to New Masses, the Communist magazine; a member of the executive committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, another organization labeled subversive by the Justice Department.

It may be deduced that Stewart's influence as editor of pamphlets is exercised in favor of communistic theories. The Public Affairs Committee however, has not been officially investigated and shown to be un-American in character."

* Napoleon said that "History is a lie agreed upon".

are final. So when the authors of this pamphlet call upon history, ethnology and psychology to prove that race is a myth and that all men are equal physically and mentally, they quote the opinions of those scientists whose pronouncements agree with these conclusions.

For instance, based upon the authority of one writer the booklet asserts that History records that there were great civilizations in Africa in the past, and that Negroes have made important contributions to world culture—a statement that is ridiculous.

This particular booklet was being distributed among the U.S.O. centers until complaint was made that such distribution aroused instead of mitigating race prejudice. The U. S. Army bought 55,000 copies to be given to soldiers, but its distribution was held up when several Congressmen investigated the matter. One Congressman was outraged because the booklet showed that Negroes in Ohio are "smarter" than whites in Kentucky and Alabama. This is one example of the unfairness of the booklet. The table of comparative intelligence was taken from a report of Army tests made during the last war from which the percentages used were obtained, but the complete percentages and the general conclusions made from the tests were not given in the pamphlet. The tests showed that while some Negroes in New York City as well as in Ohio, (in these the Negroes have the finest educational facilities) were more intelligent than some Southern whites, in the same city, in the same state, in the same section the whites always graded better than Negroes. In fact, in testing 1,500,000 troops the intelligence of the white soldiers proved to be greater than that of the Negroes. It must be remembered also that many of the Negro soldiers from the northern states were mulattoes or nearly white. The conclusions drawn by the authors of this pamphlet with respect to the army intelligence test are unjustified. On April 27, 1944, "The Races of Mankind" was assailed by a House Military Affairs subcommittee as containing statements ranging "all the way from half-truths through innuendos to downright inaccuracies."*

* *Time* in its issue of May 15, 1944, under "Education" discusses "The Races of Mankind", and after, stating that 400,000 copies had been distributed (as if quantity of circulation proved its truth), slips in this sly propaganda plug: "A 10c popularization of currently accepted scientific views about the race which agrees that any race of mankind is just as capable as any other."

Now the churches have taken up the cause of the Negro. The Catholic church has always been liberal in this respect.* The Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., has written a book on the subject, "The Race Question and the Negro", and has recently delivered a radio address on "The Church and Inter-racial Justice", in which he deplores the prejudice against Negroes.

The Protestant churches are now organizing to fight racial bias. In 1942 the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, which represents twenty-four denominations appealed to its members to end race bias. The appeal said: "Interracial fellowship must become a deeper reality in the church itself. The church, as the body of Christ, cannot accept any barrier to fellowship, either locally or nationally, based upon considerations of race". And in December 1943 the Council called upon all Christian people to be "unprejudiced and wise enough to bridge and cross the chasms of racial isolation and segregation". And even Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick quoted in a recent article sent around to all newspapers, trade journals and magazines by the "Writers War Board" what he said was an unequivocal statement made by a foremost white American sociologist: "The assumption of the inherent superiority of one (race) over all the rest, of the Nordic over the Latin, of the Anglo-Saxon over the Slav, of the Gentile over the Jew, of the Western over the Oriental, of the white over the colored, is childish folly, contrary to the teachings of science, dangerous to the common weal, and unworthy of civilized man".

The Methodist General Conference held in Kansas City on May 5, 1944, moved for "ultimate elimination" of racial discrimination in that church. A special commission was appointed to study the problem. The 762 delegates to the conference were also of the opinion that Negroes should receive equality in housing and transportation and in educational facilities. The conference also urged the repeal of "discriminatory legislation against the immigration and naturalization of Orientals of friendly nations, and, as soon as possible, to all nations."

World War II gave Negro propagandists an opportunity to press their plea for racial equality. In January 1943 Walter White, Executive Secretary of NAACP, said that the colored man is a

* "The Church of Rome has everywhere used its influence to break down social distinctions. It opposes nationalistic movements."—Madison Grant, "Passing of the Great Race".

global problem instead of solely an American problem. In fact he stated that we could not win the war unless the racial attitudes of the United Nations were changed. Of course we won anyway.

But this type of propaganda was vicious. It created dissension in the minds of East Indians and even the Chinese. It helped to prove the contention of Japanese propagandists. They could point to the fact that a group of Americans were dissatisfied, and that the Chinese would be discriminated against in the future by Europeans and Americans. So bitter had some of the propaganda of the negrophiles become that it was almost subversive. Some were asking, "What are we fighting for?" They intimated that they had nothing to gain by upholding the cause of the United Nations.

Pearl Buck has used the argument that we should show no discrimination against the Chinese because of race. Wendell Willkie* felt the same way. So strong has the propaganda for the Chinese become that Congress passed a law giving the Chinese a quota of 107 immigrants a year; the first liberalizing of our immigration law with respect to China.

The ideas behind the negrophile propaganda are varied. Some times they are logical, sometimes they are insidious, some times they consist of half-truths, and some times they are down right lies.

One of the points that is now stressed in Negro propaganda is that "we fought for democracy all over the world—let's have it at home". This theme has been played upon so often and with such varied arrangements that many people are beginning to believe that there is no democracy at home.

Democracy has never been perfect. In fact it is an imperfect form of government. But it is the best kind of government Man-kind has developed so far, and we must take it with its imperfections. Since democracy does not mean social equality, but political justice and equality before the law it is hard to see where Negroes have been so discriminated against. On the whole the democratic system in the United States has brought the Negro race opportunity, and it ill became any Negro to question what he fought for and to throw doubt on our cause. He was fighting for his home and for the

* Willkie was one of America's great men. He had brains, character and vision. His counsel will be missed in the settlement at the peace table. I think his views on racial equality were wrong, but I admire his great heart and his sincere desire to do good for his country and the whole world.

greatest freedom his race has ever known in any age and in any country.

Another point of Negro propaganda during the war was the supposed comfort and aid that we gave the Germans and Japs by our attitude towards Negroes in this country. The racial prejudice against Negroes was likened to the Nazi prejudice against Jews. In other words, if you had a racial prejudice, you were a fascist and a believer in Hitler's philosophy. Since prejudice and intolerance are natural and since it has always existed and always will exist, the expression of it was no more fascist than communist.

Negro propagandists in fact are themselves taking a cue from Hitler's book in which he proclaims that to succeed you must make your lie big enough and say it emphatically enough so that it appears to be the truth to the masses of people. The propaganda of darker skinned peoples, whether organized or not, and that of numerous prominent Negro writers in the United States is often based on direct misrepresentations.

Finally, negrophiles say flatly that "It ain't so"—that is, the so-called myth of racial inequality. M. F. Ashley Montagu has written a book entitled "Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race", with an introduction by Aldous Huxley, which attempts to prove that there are no superior races. In its argument he directly contravenes the arguments of this writer. Most of the equalitarian literature now being issued quotes Montagu and his special authorities, and thus the lie is growing like a snowball. Some few anthropologists and biologists have given support to his contentions, but there is no basis for the claims of Montagu et als that their statements are backed up by scientific facts. In the name of science they are making claims that cannot be substantiated.

The literature on the question of the inferiority of Negroes or rather the equality of the Negro race is now voluminous. Books on the subject come from the presses almost every week.

A more sinister form of propaganda is that of the modern novel whose theme is white-Negro relations—for example, Lillian Smith's, "Strange Fruit".* Praised by Mrs. Roosevelt and well-known critics, hundreds of thousands of copies have been sold. The

* *Strange Fruit* contains an obscenity that would have put the author, publisher and all booksellers handling it in jail thirty years ago. It has been banned by the police in Boston and Detroit.

book is well written and holds the readers' interest. It catches the atmosphere of a small Southern town, and some of the characters are well drawn, particularly the whites. But the author doesn't understand Negro psychology and the Negro characters are generally unreal, although unconsciously some of them exhibit typical Negro traits, which ironically are presented as expressions of Negro nobility.

The mulatress heroine, Nonnie, has illicit relations with the hero, Tracy, a white man, and becomes pregnant. Nonnie's conduct would not meet with the approval of the moralist, but it follows the pattern of millions of her sisters. Tracy Dean is represented as being in love with Nonnie. This could happen, but it is not typical of Southern men to actually love Negroes or mulattoes, and hence the situation is unreal. This is proved by the fact that Tracy deserts Nonnie when it seems convenient to do so, and no feeling of love remains. He may be a weak character, but if he had really loved Nonnie he would have taken her away to marry or live with her.

"Strange Fruit" has a baneful effect since it implies that there is white-Negro love, and in spite of the unpleasantness of the subject, the novel throws a halo of romance around it. The fiction-writer's art is thus used to make readers familiar with miscegenation and perhaps to condone it.

There is another type of novel in vogue today which portrays the Negro man as a "he-man"—sexually vigorous and fascinating to some women. Turks and Arabs have long been admired by over-sexed or abnormally amorous females, and a sheik is synonymous with sexual proficiency. But even in the days of the Arabian Nights a black buck Negro was the envy of those who owned harems, and often the secret delight of the inmates. Such degenerate literature, by suggestion and even frank discussion, is not only helping to corrupt the morals of our people, but it tends to break down the barrier against racial intermixing.

Those advocating racial equality are now directing their efforts towards the schools. Teachers, particularly in the North, are urged to lecture to their children against racial prejudice. Efforts are being made to alter our textbooks to delete anything unfavorable to Negroes and to prove that they have done their share in the building of America.

In New York City teachers are studying about the achievements of Negroes. The course which the teachers take, entitled "The

Negro in the American Scene", extends over fifteen weeks. Says the announcement of the sponsoring group: "With this background of authoritative and scientific data teachers of Negro children will be better equipped to stimulate and guide their pupils, and teachers of white children will be better prepared to function in the area of inter-racial and inter-cultural education."

Recently in New York City in a series of panel discussions in which high school children engaged, the children blamed the failure of democracy on their parents. They stated that their youth is being corrupted by the prejudices and emotions of their parents. The young people urged that an educational program be instituted to educate adults!

"We're not born with racial or religious discriminations," said one panel member. "We're not born with anything. We're taught it."

One girl added:

"I don't want to cause any trouble, but really, you shouldn't listen to your mother if she tells you not to play with some one. You should form your own judgments."

Thus we see that even our school system has not escaped the pernicious effects of racial propaganda.

In discussing race problems and the question of racial prejudice Jews are bracketed with Negroes.*

This is to the advantage of the Negro because he finds himself allied with a superior group. But it is unfair to the Jew since he does not belong to a different race as does the Negro, but he is a Caucasian. Jews should not be concerned with the question of race at all. In fact, the majority of "Jews" are not even Jews or of Semitic descent. Their Slavic ancestors were converted to Judaism, and they are Jews by religion and culture. In any event Semites are of white stock.

As a matter of fact the Jew has not been discriminated against in the United States except socially, and in this respect by only a very few people. There has been some prejudice because of his re-

* Robert E. Park in his introduction to Donald Pierson's "Negroes in Brazil" says that the race problem of Europe is the problem of the Jews and again: "In the United States where the Negro is now escaping from the caste status and becoming a racial minority similar to the Jews in Europe and elsewhere".

From another writer: "As with the Jews, persecution is making the Negro international."

ligion and the ancient Christian tradition of antagonism against Jews. But the Jew has enjoyed every opportunity that America has afforded, and he should have no complaint against the United States, its people or its customs and mores.

And yet for some reason or other the Jew has aligned himself with the equalitarians. He has allowed himself to be a cat's paw for the darker skinned peoples. The Jews are a superior people. The fact that they have been snubbed by a few Gentiles is no reason for them to become embittered, or to join groups that are fighting against racial prejudices.

The fact that Hitler and the Germans have persecuted and killed Jews is no reason for the Jews of the United States to resent the attitude of superiority assumed by most Anglo-Saxons over the yellow, brown and black peoples of the world. America has been kind to the Jew, even as it has been to the Negro, and it does not become either to berate our country and decry our form of democracy.

Many of the high priests of the Cult of Equality are Jews. In the mistaken feeling and belief that they are fighting their own battle they are hurting themselves and their people. Why the Jews wish to abrogate their racial rights and demean themselves by proclaiming the equality of inferior peoples is hard to understand. The Jew should remember that he belongs to a superior racial stock, and he should lift his head in pride. Jews throughout history have proved their superiority. Their literature is ancient and from it we get the greater part of our Bible. Two great religions—Christianity and Mohammedism—are offshoots from the Jewish religion. During the Dark Ages Jewish scientists and philosophers in Arabia and Spain, not only kept learning alive but helped preserve the classic writings of the Greeks and Romans. Jews have always been successful merchants, traders and bankers, and in the Middle Ages they were the money lenders of Europe. In cultural activities they excel, and in music, literature and the drama they have produced more than their share. Intelligence tests show that Jews everywhere rank at or near the top of the scale. If there is prejudice against the Jew because of his religion, and a tradition of ignominy and persecution that has been handed down throughout the centuries, the only way that he can overcome this handicap is to be proud of his culture, and to live his life in dignity and in such a way to win

the respect of those who now dislike him. This, of course, should be the attitude of all minority groups.

The Jew does not belong to the yellow, brown or black races. He should not, therefore join with the groups that are attempting to destroy by amalgamation and dilution of stock the superior Caucasian peoples.

The movement to improve the lot of the Negro is more or less in radical hands. Some of the pronouncements of these leaders border on the subversive and seditious.

To advance the Negro's cause, some have aligned themselves with that branch of organized labor which is dominated by "leftist" elements.* In order to achieve equality they are willing to "sell America down the river". They cannot see the good that the American system has brought to their race. Imbued with the militant socialism of Karl Marx, they do not want to wait until better conditions come about through evolutionary development, but they desire to force the issue now. Some would gain equality by actual revolution and bloodshed. That this procedure does not meet with the approval of all equalitarians is evidenced by this quotation from an article in "The Negro" (July-Aug., 1944) by William Hard, well-known publicist and liberal:

And with that I come back to the South. As much as any Southerner, I resent the promiscuous attacks made by left-wing agitators on the race situation in the southern states. Those agitators seem to remember nothing about the Reconstruction Era in the South and the sad consequences then of excessive haste in Negro advancement. Progress in Negro employment and the unionizing of Negroes in the South has to be gradual.

In the spring of 1943 Negroes under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph threatened to march on Washington unless certain concessions were not made in the employment of Negroes by firms executing war contracts. Randolph threatened to start a campaign of "civil disobedience and non-cooperation", taking his cue from Gandhi in India. Such threats did not have the ring of patriotism. Randolph and his followers placed Negroes first and America second. But he won his point as will be told later.

* The C.I.O. has been most active not only propagandizing the idea of racial equality but of putting it into practice. During the past two years the C.I.O. has distributed millions of pamphlets entitled "The C.I.O. and the Negro".

Negroes have talked and are talking of revolution. Writes Dan Gardner in *Plain Talk*:

The revolution will come when over a million Negro fighting men, augmented by thousands of whites who know the score, return to this country and demand something far better than what they left when they went into the service. These men will be super-trained and knowing the art of warfare and the science of human destruction as no generation of mankind has yet known these things, they will stop lynchings, themselves. They will march into polling places—even in Mississippi—and vote, even if they have to do it forcibly. They will put an end to "Crackerism" if we don't.

Signs of this have been shown in the attitude of young Negro servicemen from northern communities in training in the South who are forcing the issue in face of almost certain death or injury. The revolution will come and the theory of "crackerism" which advocates the enslaving of the many—mentally, physically and economically—while insuring the rule of the few, will be the main issue. On that line the Battle of America will be fought.

A. Clayton Powell, famous Negro preacher in Harlem and now elected to Congress from that district, ran on a "Negro First" platform—"I will represent the Negro people first; I will represent after that all other American people".

In the United States then we find the Negro on the march. His radical leaders are demanding non-segregation in the army and navy, abolition of the "Jim Crow" laws in the South, all social rights and privileges and aid from the Federal government to assist him in achieving every kind of equality. Negroes are likewise demanding that the same consideration be given to colored peoples in other parts of the world. Some even demanded that Negroes as a group be allowed to have representatives at the peace table after the war.

Minority groups can become all powerful, as has been shown in Russia. The Communist Party, which was well organized there, seized control after the Revolution, and a small group of 300,000 or 400,000 people determined the destiny of 160 million people. It is, therefore, possible in the course of years for a Negro group with their white sympathizers to seize power, and to take control of the government of one or more countries. If they do they can then bring about by force what might take hundreds of years to achieve by propaganda alone.

In Washington there is found today a group of Negroes and their sympathizers who exert unusual power. Americans are accustomed to lobbyists, and they know that in all state capitals as well as at our national capital there are lobbyists representing individual businesses, associations, blocks and groups of all kinds. In Washington there are many influential lobbies such as that representing labor, or the farm lobby or that of railroads, and those of big business, little business, and so on. Some of these lobbies are so powerful that they are consulted by senators and congressmen even before legislation is introduced, and they are listened to attentively when legislative matters come before committees of the two chambers.

But even more powerful than any of these lobbyists is the "black cabinet". This consists of five or six Negro leaders who are consulted by the various departments of the government. They hold key positions in Washington and thus have "pipe lines" into most governmental matters. Among the members of the black cabinet are the Secretary of War's civil assistant, and the Chief of the Racial Relations Office of the Federal Public Housing Administration. Two Negro women are members of the "cabinet". During the war the Negro executive assistant to Gen. Hershey in charge of the draft, the Negro assistant to Elmer Davis in the Office of War Information, and the racial adviser to the chairman of the War Manpower Commission, a Negro, were members.

The black cabinet was particularly influential with President Roosevelt and his Department heads. Its members looked out for the interests of the Negroes in every particular, and became one of the most powerful segments of the kitchen cabinet—the members of which were on "the inside"—who pulled the strings as well as advised and consulted with the President, his real cabinet and legislative and party leaders.

The black cabinet was behind many of the directives such as the famous Executive Order No. 8802 by the President ordering fair employment in all governmental departments and in the execution of all war contracts. Its efforts have caused various bureaus to plead the cause of the Negro, such as John Studebaker, head of the Office of Education, in his recent report advocating the opening of all Southern colleges to Negro college students.

At present there is no evidence of an organization composed entirely of Negroes and white sympathizers—at least in the United

States—whose object is to seize the government. There are many organizations propagandizing for all kinds of freedoms, rights, and equalities in the United States as well as in Africa, the West Indies, and so on. There are powerful Negro organizations in this country which in the course of years by using propaganda might become strong enough to control our affairs. But this is improbable. In the meantime they are causing dissension and social unrest.

The great danger of equalitarian propaganda is not revolution or bloodshed, but the breaking down of resistance to social intercourse between white and colored races with consequent intermarriage and final amalgamation.

It is for this reason that the American people should make an appraisal and learn some facts that will be useful in considering our racial relations, not only with colored people in the United States, but with the dark-skinned peoples in other parts of the world.

To offset the organized effort to depreciate Caucasian superiority and to refute some of the yellow, brown and black propaganda that is now flooding the world, this book proves in as far as they are subject to proof, the following theses:

1. That the doctrine of racial equality is fallacious.
2. That such a doctrine if practiced means harm to the white race.
3. That races can be graded according to superiority.
4. That history proves the racial superiority of the Caucasian race.
5. That nations whose people have interbred with inferior races decline rather than advance.
6. That countries controlled by Negroes do not progress.
7. That there are physical and mental differences between Caucasians and Negroes which indicate the former to be superior.
8. That, in fact, the race problem will not be solved by the doctrine of Equality which leads to the doctrine of amalgamation. The amalgamation of all racial elements means the wiping out of the superior Caucasian race and the decline of civilization.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EQUALITY.

ABOUT the year 1740 there landed in France five Choctaw Indians from Louisiana. In their native garments, or lack of them, these Indian chiefs were paraded around Paris and became quite the hit of the town. They were entertained by the nobility and taken to the salons where the intelligentsia and the wits of the day were intrigued with their simplicity and seriousness of mein.

The noble red men impressed some of the social philosophers then coming into vogue. Whether Rousseau saw and talked with the Indians I do not know, but he initiated the "back to nature" movement. He contended that the dress and trivialities of civilization made men mean and unnatural. People should discard the veneer of civilization and become simple again. Roaming in the woods with little clothes, or just enough to keep them warm, and without the conventions of a hypocritical and civilized society, men are naturally honest and good.

By inference such a philosophy suggests equality. Among savages and simple people all in the same tribe are equal. Few realize that savages in their social organization are the best examples of the application of the social theory implied in the slogan of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity".

Savages have always enjoyed the blessings of liberty and equality. Among them every one does as he likes, and certainly all are equal. They are, it is true, hedged in by beliefs in witchcraft, and taboos of various sorts. Otherwise the members of wild tribes have about as much personal freedom as man has ever attained. The savage does not believe in property rights, and one man takes or borrows the canoe or the bow and arrow of another without asking his permission. In fact communism is the prevailing economic system. What little property the tribe possesses is owned by all its members in common. That is one reason why wild tribes have not become more civilized. There is no incentive for the thrifty or more intelligent persons among them to accumulate property or to invent ways of producing it.

There are no social distinctions among the members of a savage tribe except possibly the distinction enjoyed by the witch doctor and the tribal chieftain. Even these positions are not hereditary, but

are open to the strongest and shrewdest members of the tribe. In this respect their institutions are democratic. And, of course, the members of a tribe having the same customs, religious belief, and a communistic economy fraternize with each other.

Rousseau was a thinker whose shallow philosophy was one of the eggs from which the French revolutionary chickens were hatched.

Influenced by the zeitgeist, Helvetius (1715-1771) advanced the theory that the minds of all men are equal, and that inequalities later developed because some do not have the propensity or desire to learn. But early education can overcome this indifferent attitude toward study. Helvetius believed then that the intellectual difference between individuals depends upon external circumstances—upon chance. This is a beautiful theory but it is hardly necessary to point out the fallacy in it. All men are not equal at birth with respect to intellect or intelligence. In fact when it comes to mental capacity all men are different, because heredity influences the development of the mind more than environment.

Other French writers propagandized the philosophy of equality and the natural rights of man. So when the Revolution was inaugurated it was logical that in the Declaration of the Rights of Man as promulgated by the National Assembly in August 1791 could be found these words:

The end of political society is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

Under the inspiration of *Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité* the Revolutionists reduced thousands of aristocrats to the level of all things earthly by cutting off their heads. Under the reign of liberty, equality and fraternity, clothes styles were changed, society was levelled, morals were abolished and religion was obliterated.

The Revolutionists became "sans-cullottes"—that is, they adopted the long trousers of the workman and did away with the breeches and the silken hose of patricians. The women affected the loose, flowing robes of the Greeks, since it was believed that the Greeks first gave the world pure democracy. Clothes express the philosophy of the times, and in Russia, for the first fifteen years of the communists' regime the people wore the blouse of the workmen. From the highest to the lowest there was little distinction in clothes.

The Revolutionists seized the monasteries, closed the churches, dethroned God and erected a statue to the Goddess of Reason. The National Assembly changed the calendar, the names of the months and the days, and set about enforcing equality under the law, in business and in social affairs. This theoretical utopia lasted only five years from 1789 to 1794. It brought neither prosperity, happiness nor peace. Napoleon came upon the scene and under his dictatorship France became stable and even reactionary. The Revolution was over, but it had destroyed feudalism and given to the bourgeois class and the peasants their opportunity to develop that individualism so characteristic of the French.

The American Revolution in point of time was ahead of the French. But the philosophical ferment which caused the revolution in France had its effect on American thought. But both the American and the French Revolutions were the results of the thinking of the social philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Our forefathers borrowed their ideas of the natural rights of man from the English thinkers, Locke and Hume. The French social and political thinkers who influenced the times were Montesquieu and Rousseau. Although Voltaire helped to bring about the French Revolution, his liberalism was more concerned with religion than with politics and the state.

Under the influence then of English and French philosophers, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Adams and Hamilton (assisted by Thomas Paine in his famous brochures, "Commonsense" and "The Rights of Man") developed a political philosophy which became the basis for American democracy. The philosophy of equality and of natural rights as expressed by our founding fathers fitted in with the ideology and the early American spirit of independence.

The tradition of Anglo-Saxons has always been that of ever striving toward freedom. Even in feudal times the English serf enjoyed greater rights than his brother on the Continent, and England early developed a yeomanry, which was the backbone of her fighting forces in the Hundred Years War, and which later was to develop into middle and upper class Englishmen who have carried Anglo-Saxon ideas and civilization to the uttermost parts of the globe. Under the old English law an accused person could be tried by a jury of his peers, and equity and equality before the law were early developed in England.

The English struggle for independence goes back to Magna Charta. This "independence", of course, was only for the barons. But their action in getting a written document from King John, guaranteeing them certain inalienable rights, has for seven hundred years inspired all lovers of freedom. In the various contests between the parliament and the king, the trend was ever toward greater freedom, and more rights for individuals. Then there came about another kind of freedom—religious freedom. Protestantism, which made all Christians free and equal, was based on an individualistic philosophy.

Thus, when our ancestors came over from England to settle in the United States, they brought with them a tradition of freedom of action, and the belief that there were certain rights that men possess that could not be taken away from them by governments. Many were seeking religious freedom when they migrated. America was settled by those who were imbued with the spirit of freedom and equality. When the early colonists arrived in America they were faced with economic conditions that made all equal socially. All had to work hard and cooperate with each other. There was no time or place for snobbery. Every one had to start "at taw", so to speak. In pioneer times there was indeed liberty, equality, fraternity and democracy.*

When, therefore, Jefferson enunciated in the Declaration of Independence his noble sentiments about the "inalienable rights of man", and "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", he struck a chord that vibrated in most American hearts.

Although our ideals and ideas have changed since Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, the idea of freedom of religion, freedom of speech, individualism and the right to "do as we please", is still the basic belief of every American. The idea of equality is the birthright of every free-born American. These ideas of freedom and equality are part of the ethos of our people. Thus any appeal based on these stereotyped concepts has the support of the average American.

In 1898 we pitied the poor Cubans and propagandists aroused the Americans to such a pitch that we started a war against Spain in order to free Cuba.

* It must be remembered, however, that various groups were sometimes prejudiced against other groups and bigotry and intolerance were common.

Next came the Irish. The propaganda for the freedom of Ireland became so strong that aside from the influence of the Irish in this country, many other Americans took up their cudgels for the Irish, and England gave Eire its independence. It is a question whether Eire's freedom would have been accomplished had it not been for pro-Irish sentiment in the United States. Today in the name of democracy and equality we are again sympathetic with the idea of "freeing India".

Both the words "liberty" and "equality" have various meanings. There are several kinds of liberty and several kinds of equality. One might have liberty of person without the liberty of expressing one's thoughts. One might have economic freedom and not religious freedom.

Equality is likewise susceptible to several definitions. There is equality before the law, social equality, economic equality and equality of capabilities. That everyone is entitled to all these equalities is the claim of the equalitarian cult. But this claim must be denied.

According to the theory of equality all things are equal. Since all things are unequal, the theory is untenable. But the idea of equality in human relations persists. It is a natural, logical and beautiful idea. It appeals to the idealist and humanitarian, as well as to the masses. Since in mental capacity and character there are comparatively few exceptional men, those who do not possess superior gifts are either jealous of those who do, or they are perfectly willing to assume that superior people have been more successful or have achieved leadership because of "pull" or through chicanery. In a word, the philosophy of all men being equal appeals to the average man. The doctrine of equality has a popular appeal.

Of course, there are different applications of this doctrine. It is certainly agreed by moralists and every thinking individual that there should be equality before the law. The rights which are granted to one person or group of persons in a state should be granted to all in that state.

It is proper for us to say that the natural government for all men and the best form of government is a democracy, but in a study of the world's history we know that a democracy is not a perfect form of government. We might admit that it is the best so far evolved, but it is difficult to prove that there could not be a better.

The point is that whatever government a country may have,

the citizens of that country are entitled to justice and to an impartial enforcement of its laws. In this respect we can say that everyone is equal or should be equal. And, of course, there should be an equal opportunity to "rise". Beyond this equality natural equalitarian rights cease to exist. Inequality is the rule of reason and a natural condition.

One writer speaks of the "American dream of equality". Some Americans may have this dream but most of them do not. Americans do not dream of equalizing. They dream of surpassing. Americans are individualists, and they think about how they can succeed—how they can get ahead of the other fellow. This is the true American dream—it has brought about the American way of life.

After nearly two hundred years of liberty and equality the cycle has completed its turn, and a large part of the occidental world has now reverted to an old idea—that of the importance of the state. It is in fact a corollary of the divine right of kings. Russia, Germany, Italy and Spain in the West, and Japan in the Far East, organized their governments under a totalitarian philosophy, or that of the dominance of the state. The struggle is now between the rights of man and the rights of the state. This in effect is the same struggle as that of two hundred years ago.

Under the theory of individualism and liberty the nations of the West developed the greatest civilization the world has ever seen. It is fitting that we should protest and fight against the totalitarian doctrine that the state alone is important and that the individual counts for nothing. In carrying on the warfare against this disintegrating philosophy some have injected the issue of equalitarianism, thus harking back to the philosophers of the Eighteenth Century and their doctrine of the natural rights of man. But while all are entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" we are not all equal in every respect, and that equality must accompany liberty does not necessarily follow. In fact in Russia where theoretically absolute equality prevails—and particularly racial equality—the individual has been shorn of much of his liberty, and in the United States many of those associated with the equalitarian school are attempting to curtail our liberties by seeking the establishment of a bureaucratic government and a planned economy.

CHAPTER II.

FALLACIES IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF EQUALITY

THE philosophy of equality assumes that all men are in fact equal.

The phrase "All men are created equal" is taken in its literal sense. But Jefferson's glorious words refer to political equality and mean that all men are equal before the law. They do not and never did assert or imply that all men are equal mentally, physically, morally or socially.

If there is one thing that is certain in the world, it is that men are unequal in their characters, in their attributes, in their capabilities, and in their physical make-ups. In fact, "inequality" might be called the first law of nature. In the process of evolution progress or development depends upon variations in the physical forms of organisms (and among higher forms of life in mental characteristics as well). Variation connotes inequality since a difference implies a superiority or inferiority of one organism when compared to another and this applies to any or all of its minute structural parts.

When the world was first created, "The earth was without form and void". Aside from the Biblical idea of the beginning of the world other theories have been advanced, such as the nebular hypothesis. Some scientists suggest that a passing sun pulled away from our sun large chunks of gaseous matter each of which became a planet. Others believe that our planetary system was formed by the collision of two suns in which our sun remained as the central mass, the planets being thrown off and held in their orbits by the force of gravity.

No matter what theory we prefer, we can be sure that in the beginning the earth was a gaseous mass which moved in an orbit around the sun. The gas finally solidified, and as the earth cooled, life appeared. Just how, or why, or when nobody knows. The first form of life consisted of protoplasm which is still the base of all life, vegetable or animal. Primordial life was uniform. As variations began to appear new organisms developed and evolved and life assumed different forms both in its flora and its fauna. Evolution or the development of lower types into higher forms depends upon variation. Uniformity, except in the wider sense, is not the law of evolution. Variety and change and inequality are the principles upon which it works. Herbert Spencer's famous definition of

evolution explains in a sesquipedalian sentence that would have pleased Dr. Johnson:

Evolution is an integration of matter and a concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from a *relatively indefinite incoherent homogeneity* to a *relatively definite coherent heterogeneity*; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.

In his synthetic philosophy Herbert Spencer shows that all the early forms of life are comparatively homogeneous. He says: "Certain minute animal forms present either no appreciable differentiations or differentiations so obscure as to be made out with great difficulty."

It is the law of life that in the beginning every form be simple and homogeneous, and as it begins to vary it begins to develop and expand and become more complicated in structure.* The 1,200,000 species of animal life on the globe came from one simple unicellular organism. This is the effect of variation.

In many of these 1,200,000 species there are numerous sub-species and varieties. In *Homo Sapiens* there are, let us say, five sub-species or five races of mankind (only three according to some anthropologists). But even beyond this, in every species or sub-species there is great variety among the individual units that compose the species. In a fly of the same species, some individuals will be large and some will be small; some will have eyes that can see better than others; some will have wings slightly larger or that will vibrate faster; some will be more perfectly aerated so that they will gather oxygen more easily and can thus move faster and with greater energy. In a species of sweet pea, some will have larger leaves, some will have a better perfume so that bees will be more attracted and there is a better chance that the pollen will be scattered on other plants, some leaves will be lacking in chlorophyll, some of the plants will withstand colder weather, and some will wither quicker under a hot sun.

When it comes to man himself, it is perfectly obvious that every individual is different from everyone else. No two individuals in all the universe are exactly alike. Nature glories in variation and

* A language follows this law. To begin with, there are few words. As it develops it "grows" more words and compounds until it becomes a language of several hundred thousand words, as did the English language which originally had only a few hundred.

in differences. This is true even of structural details. For instance, we take finger-prints as the surest means of identification because no two sets of finger-prints are alike.

It seems hardly necessary to prove that inequalities exist between individuals, between groups, between species. Admitting then that there are differences and that variety is the law of life as well as its spice, it must follow that inequality is likewise a correlative law. Since no two individuals are alike, they cannot be equal. They may be alike in many attributes. There may be likenesses that prevail to a great extent, but there is bound to be some difference and some inequality.

Therefore, when we say that all men are created equal, we can only mean it to be so in a restricted sense. That all men are equal in every way is preposterous.*

It is not necessary to quote philosophers and thinkers throughout the ages who have pointed out this fact. It might be summed up in the Armenian proverb, "The five fingers are not all equal".

Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, struck many high notes in this immortal document. Imagination stood at his side as he toiled in the long hours of the night. And genius helped him clothe his idealism in phrases that still lead men to battle and urge them on to greater enterprise. Among these jewelled words, which, glittering in the sunshine of hope, bring inspiration and aspiration to the souls of men, are the famous ones, "All men are created equal".

As a slogan for a political revolution and for the establishment of democracy, this phrase is superb; but, like every other slogan, it says more than it means. As a generality can never be true, so a catch word promises more than it can fulfill. However, Jefferson's phrase is too often taken from its context. The Declaration of Independence is a petition protesting against certain definite political wrongs. It is not a charter for the righting of all social, economic, and moral wrongs. Although based on the political philosophy of Montesquieu and Locke, the purpose of the Declaration was, first, to enumerate the causes of the differences with Great Britain, and

* William Graham Sumner in "Folk Ways" says, "That all men should be alike or equal by any standard whatever is contrary to all the facts of human nature and all the conditions of human life". And Thomas Huxley wrote in 1890: "The doctrine that all men are, in any sense, or have been, at any time, free and equal, is an utterly baseless fiction."

to appeal to neutrals, as the author says, "because of a proper respect for the opinions of mankind". I dislike to use the word in this connection, but the Declaration of Independence today would be called *propaganda*. It is indeed a high type of propaganda, since in presenting its claims and protests it appeals to the moral order of the universe. In like manner Woodrow Wilson with his "fourteen points" and his plea to "make the world safe for democracy" appealed to the spiritual side of Americans and all the peoples of the world. Only recently President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms again made a world wide appeal.

But Thomas Jefferson did not mean that all men were equal. He knew that the man who sat around the tavern guzzling ale most of his time was not equal to the farmer who tended his crops, took care of his family and lived honestly and industriously. Thomas Jefferson knew that a man who was honest and did his best was superior to the man who was dishonest and who shirked his duty. Thomas Jefferson knew that there were thousands of differences between individuals that law, education and theorizing could never level. And when he said that men were created equal, he did not mean that they were equal in parts, that they were equal in mentality, that they were equal morally or that they were equal in any way except that they should have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that they should be equal under the law and that their civil rights should be equal.

The foundation of all good government is based on justice, and justice means equality before the law. A state, however, should not undertake to dispense social justice or economic justice, although this theory in later times is contravened. Our modern social thinkers believe that the state should give us social justice and economic justice as well. Whether this can be done is another question to be discussed at another time, but it is certain that Thomas Jefferson did not intend to anticipate Karl Marx and the economic planners of a later date.

This being so, it is illogical to change the meaning of Jefferson's noble dictum and to make him say that all races are equal and that all people are equal in every way.

It might surprise many equalitarians of today to know that Abraham Lincoln held a somewhat similar view to Jefferson's. He said in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, on June 26, 1857: "I think

the authors of the Declaration of Independence intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend to declare all men *equal in all respects*".*

Many people know, of course, that Jefferson did want to declare that Negroes were entitled to civil rights and that he listed among the complaints against King George the fact that the British were foisting the slave trade on the colonies in order to aid and protect the merchants of Liverpool in this nefarious traffic instead of prohibiting it.

The older members of the Committee and of the Congress compelled Jefferson to take out of the Declaration these passages about Negroes. This action on their part was later the cause of tragedy to untold millions, and resulted in the loss of millions of lives and billions of dollars. Even today its after effects are not only still with us, but are at the bottom of one of the greatest problems that confronts the future of America.

As Thomas Jefferson was logical, he did not believe in slavery, and when he said that all men were created equal he meant that they should all be free, that they should have their rights before the law and in the courts of justice.

The philosophy of equality is not only unnatural, since nature knows no equality, but it is deadening. It is a fatal philosophy to those who aspire. Paradoxically, under its spell, many of the individuals of the races which are considered inferior might give up trying to overcome their inferiority. "If", they say, "all are equal, why try to prove it?"

"Men are moved," says Gibbon, "to accomplish things by two forces: the love of pleasure and the love of action". Gibbon might have added another force, the love of knowledge. They create ambition and the desire to achieve. When men are not urged by these three incentives, they remain as beasts, or like the happy African who philosophizes, "Allah is good, and the sun is warm, so why worry."

The love of pleasure, which includes self-improvement by study, the patronizing of art and literature and listening to music, produces the greatest part of the happiness of individuals. On the other hand, the love of action is the principle which not only creates

* Charles Fox said a long time before: "Men are entitled to equal rights—but to equal rights to unequal things."

wealth, but which organizes and directs and builds institutions and nations.

Those who have the urge to do things, to create and to build should not be hampered by the philosophy of inaction as is implied in the theory of equality.

The individuals who have ambition should be permitted to realize their hopes provided they do not tread on the rights of others. A civilization in which all are "equal" would tend to penalize the individual and to hold him down to a level of mediocrity.

In fact, this may be seen in our public school system today. The bright boys and girls in a class are held back so that the mediocre children can keep up with them. Our educational system fits the child to its Procrustean bed, and chops off the heads or the feet of those who are too long to fit into it.*

Mentally superior children at the time of life when they should be absorbing, concentrating and thinking, fritter away time waiting for their classmates to catch up. With uninspiring teachers and dullness and mediocrity around them they lose ambition and assume that what the world wants is a similar dullness and mediocrity. The deadly leveling down of all mentalities to the mean of normal accomplishments hurts the efficiency of the better equipped mind. Of course, brighter students often succeed in spite of these handicaps.†

Men are not equal mentally and no scheme or plan of equalizing them can work.

Today, those dissatisfied with Nature's law of inequality believe that we can change it by changing the environment. The environmentalists, who seem to lead the school which believes that all races are equal, assert that the differences that exist between races are due to environment. Undoubtedly, environment does have its effect, and all organisms are the product of heredity and environment, but just how their forces act on any particular organism it is difficult to ascertain.

* It is well known in psychology that the child with a higher I. Q. should be separated or allowed to develop faster than one with an average I. Q. However, some psychologists believe that associating only with a few other bright children he might become abnormal, and that in order to lead a normal life he should associate with normal children.

† Very few people realize that in the matter of mentality alone superior persons are comparatively few. For instance, only from 1% to 2% of school children have an I. Q. of 130 or above. The average range is from 90 to 110.

Organisms existing today are not easily influenced permanently by environment. You can cut off the tails of 10,000 generations of mice and the 10,001st will have tails. Says Miss Elderton: "The influence of environment is not 1/5 that of heredity, and quite possibly not one-tenth of it."

And Prof. Karl Pearson writes: "The degree of dependence of the child on the characters of its parentage is ten times as intense as its degree of dependence on the character of its home or up-rearing."

The aphorisms which represent the accumulated wisdom of ages favor heredity. "Poets are born and not made". "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear". And from Heraclitus, "Much learning does not teach to have mind." Shakespeare in "Titus Andronicus" reflects: "All the water in the ocean can never turn the swan's black legs to white", which in a manner is patterned after Jeremiah (XIII - 23) "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"

Another fallacy is the idea that equality is embodied in the concept of the word "democracy". Just what is democracy? I will not give a definition here, since entire books have not always been able to define it, but, succinctly, democracy means a government by the people. It does not mean that all these people shall be socially, mentally and economically equal. In the city democracies of ancient Greece, the fishermen and the independent farmer, had a voice in the affairs of state and a vote as did Aristotle or Pericles, or the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. This did not confer social or intellectual equality upon the fisherman. The privilege of voting does not make the voter equal except politically to any other voter. It was not so in ancient Greece and it is not so today. Therefore, when the equalitarians say that we are a democracy and that everyone is equal they are giving the wrong interpretation to the word "democracy".

The American and English democracies are political, and the equality they offer is the equal right of all citizens to choose their rulers and to make laws. Of course, in a secondary sense, democratic governments tend to social equality, but a democracy is not necessarily a nation of equals. In Russia all are equal, but Russia is not a democracy. The United States is a democracy and all are unequal. In fact in a democracy where freedom prevails the right to excel or stand out above the crowd is jealously guarded. This

privilege is the essence of individualism, and the great democracies of the world grant to their citizens the opportunity and right to improve themselves individually and to search for happiness with the least hindrance. But democracy does not mean equality.

The idea of equality is communistic. And pure communism is a noble idea. But it is not a practical idea. It is against the grain of human nature. Thousands of communistic communities have been founded, including those of the early Christians. But after the first few months or even years of endeavor, after the enthusiasms have cooled, or the self-sacrificing leaders died or lost control these colonies have invariably failed to survive. However, many primitive tribes are communistic insofar as property is concerned, and have remained so for thousands of years. But this only proves the impracticality of communism, since tribes practicing it never advance or rise above savagery or barbarism.

The general idea of equality is a levelling down that is harmful to individuals, to nations and to races. It is the philosophy of negation.

CHAPTER III.

THE DANGER OF THE DOCTRINE OF EQUALITY

THE theory of equality is a communistic theory. It reduces all to a dead level. From a racial standpoint, the practical effect of the general acceptance of this theory, when it is carried out to its logical conclusion, is the merging of all the peoples and races of the world into one race. That such a desideratum would be to the advantage of the human race I deny. In fact, many disadvantages would arise therefrom. These disadvantages are as follows:

- a. The elimination of the superior race which has given us our modern civilization.
- b. The cultures of the more advanced races would deteriorate.
- c. The mixing of one billion and a quarter of ignorant, unprogressive and poverty-stricken people, some of whom are still savage, and most of whom are of a primitive type, with three-quarters of a billion educated, progressive people enjoying a high standard of living, would reduce the latter group to the low level of the majority, and possibly wipe out altogether our occidental civilization.
- d. Physically, the mingling of all colors, including the whites, into one race would do away with racial variety. Although many biologists say this would make no difference, common sense tells us that it would be a biological mistake.
- e. The amalgamation of all the races of the world would undoubtedly reduce the intellectuality or the general intelligence of human beings to a lower average. To dilute or bring down to a lower level the mental capabilities of a group of superior people would certainly be disadvantageous and harmful to the future progress of the human race.

The theory that all races are equal leads logically to amalgamation. If there is no prejudice or feeling of white-skinned peoples against those with more pigment in their skin, they will not hesitate to intermarry. If the various races intermarry, in the course of time the inhabitants of the whole world will be of one color. This may be desirable from the standpoint of the darker-skinned peoples, who

will, no doubt, be glad to lighten their skins, but in order that their skins be lightened, the white race must suffer its skin to be darkened. The white race is asked to dilute its strength, as it were, by swapping some of its white blood for the blood that runs in darker hued people. A superior breed is thus to be contaminated by interbreeding with an inferior one. No breeder of animals would weaken the strain of his superior stock by crossing them with inferiors. Blooded dogs would lose their points if crossed with curs. Race horses would lose their speed if bred with ordinary work horses. The descendants of Jersey milk cows would not give as much milk nor would the quality be as good, if the cows were bred with common stocks.

The Caucasian race is a blooded stock among the races of mankind. Why injure it by crossing it with a common stock? Such a procedure could only aid the inferior strain at the expense of the superior.

If the white race is represented by the figure "4" and the colored race by the figure "2" and you cross breed them you have the figure "3". While you have increased figure "2" one point, you have reduced figure "4" one point and figure "4" must pay the price. This racial communism is as unfair and illogical as economic communism.

The blending of all races into one race is against the law of evolution. Evolution started with homogeneity. All forms of life have developed from simple homogeneous organisms into heterogenous and highly complicated forms. The evolutionary process has led to extreme specialization. The white race is a highly specialized type, and is differentiated in varying degrees from other varieties of *homo sapiens*. This variation and specialization is in accordance with nature's laws.

If through social and ideological pressure we attempt to change the course of nature by producing a race of men in which all would be equal in color, in aptitudes, in physical appearance and in mental ability, we will have brought down to a dead level those highly specialized human beings, who in the course of their evolutionary progress, have evolved a superior civilization.

The whole world would suffer if the Caucasian race—with initiative, with inventiveness, with superb intelligence, with high moral conceptions and idealistic philosophies—if the race which produced superior men is to be weakened by the introduction into its hereditament the genes of an inferior stock. For the white race to submit to this process is to commit race suicide.

This is the reason why Caucasians should not accept the theory that all races are equal. It is not a matter of being undemocratic; it is simply a matter of self-preservation.

About twenty-five years ago Lothrop Stoddard wrote a famous book, "The Rising Tide of Color". This book had far reaching effects, and helped to develop the theory that is now the basis of our United States immigration laws. Before the appearance of Stoddard's book the theory prevailed that America was the land of refuge, and people from all over the world could come into this glorious country and be received with open arms. America was the "melting pot" and we prided ourselves on opening our doors to the poor, the oppressed and the persecuted of all countries and of all nations—that is, with the exception of China. (The Chinese have been excluded since 1881.)

Under the "melting pot" theory emigrants from Europe poured into this country. From 1905 to 1914 over 10,000,000 immigrants came into the United States. This was at the rate of one million a year, and in 1914, 1,218,480 came in—the largest number of immigrants in our history with the exception of 1907 when a slightly larger number arrived. The first world war interfered with immigration, but in 1921, 805,000 came in and 706,000 in 1924. From 1925 to 1930 the average was around 300,000 per year, and from 1931 immigration has ranged from 23,000 up to 97,000 per year. In 1943 it reached another low with 23,775 admissions.

The new immigration law which went into effect in 1924, is based on a quota system. This gives higher quotas to the northern races of Europe and a lower quota to the peoples of southern Europe. Thus the law recognizes the superiority of various branches of the Caucasian race over sub racial groups.

But twenty-five years brings about many changes. Influenced by the flood of propaganda, a movement is now under way to repeal our immigration laws. The movement like the rain cloud of the old prophet is now no bigger than a man's hand, yet it is a portent of the storm that might soon come. If the equalitarians are right and all races are equal, it logically follows that the yellow and darker colored races are not only our brothers under the skin, but they should be allowed to come over and fraternize with us and stay here permanently if they care to do so.

Earl G. Harrison, resigning on July 22, 1944, as U. S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, submitted a report to the

Attorney General in which he advocated a reform of the existing immigration laws. Commissioner Harrison stated that our present law compares with the racial laws of Nazi Germany. He said that our immigration laws ought to be repealed. He strongly opposed the closed door philosophy behind the bills now before Congress whose purpose is to further restrict immigration after the war. Mr. Harrison wants to lift the racial barriers against Hindus, Filipinos and Chinese. He said: "The old theory of inferior peoples should be discarded as something no longer worthy of America in its Naturalization laws or otherwise."

Dr. Walter M. Howlett, Secretary of the Metropolitan Federation of Daily Vacation Bible Schools in New York City in a recent sermon said with regard to exclusion of Chinese from citizenship: "We call ourselves Christian and shut the Chinese out. We also exclude them and talk about making this a Christian world."

The repeal of our immigration laws is a direct threat to American prosperity, and the future of our country. We cannot afford to admit any more foreigners of other races and cultures with a low standard of living. We cannot further dilute our early American racial stock, and we do not want to introduce any additional cultural elements that are opposed to our way of life. Particularly we do not want to increase our racial problems, by permitting the Chinese and Hindus—and eventually the Japs—to settle here.

The Equalitarian doctrine threatens us with this contingency. If we let down the bars to the Chinese, for instance, the racial problem of the Negro becomes a minor one. The theory of equality is inimical to our immigration laws, and the immediate danger to us is their repeal.

If we can keep America as racially pure as it is, and like the Australians prohibit the further immigration of inferior races and peoples, then we will not worry so much about the rising tide of color as about the fact that color itself is rising.

The population of the world is about two billion.*

* Even in peace time it is difficult to obtain an accurate estimate of the number of people in some countries. The United States, by the way, was after Sweden the first country to institute the regular taking of a census. This has proceeded regularly for sixteen decades, and it may be assumed that if any country is able to take an accurate census, it would be the United States. Yet in the taking of the census in the United States there is always a small percentage of error. In some countries, Africa, for instance, it is impossible to take an accurate census, and the population must be estimated.

WORLD POPULATION AT END OF 1939
(From the Economic Almanac 1943-1944)

Continent or Country	Millions	% of Total
Africa	157.3	7.2
North America	143.2	6.6
Mexico, Central America, West Indies....	41.1	1.9
South America	88.7	4.1
Asia, excluding USSR	1,154.0	53.2
China (Estimate)	(450.0)	(20.7)
USSR	172.0	7.9
Europe, excluding USSR	402.8	18.6
Oceania	10.8	0.5
World Total.....	2,170.0	100.0

MAIN RACIAL DIVISIONS OF WORLD POPULATION—1936
(From the Economic Almanac, 1943-1944.)

Division	Estimated Number (Millions)
Caucasian	725
Mongolian	680
Negro	210
Malayan	105
Semitic	100
Red Indian, etc.	30
	1,850

* * * * *

From the tables it will be seen that the white race is in the minority, and that there is danger of its being swamped by the yellow and black races of the world, has long been realized. At the turn of the century, newspapers and magazines of the United States played up the "Yellow Peril". The Chinese and the Japanese, according to the scare writers of the time, would awake some day and run us off the map. This fear of our being at the mercy of this mass of Asiatics may have had something to do with the development of our imperialistic policy. With European powers we gathered in some of the far away peoples, and sent troops to China to "protect our interests". Later, Stoddard's book, "The Rising Tide of Color", augmented by "The Peril of the White", by Sir Leo Chiozza Money, "The Menace of Colour" by J. W. Gregory, and books of this type, reminded thinking people of the danger that threatened the white race and white civilization.

To a certain extent, the preaching of the doctrine of equality may bring about the peril Caucasians have so long feared since they are outnumbered two to one by the darker-skinned peoples. Modern transportation has lessened distances, so that countries and peoples formerly weeks and months apart are now brought together in a few hours or days. Fast steamships and aeroplanes have shrunk the globe, so that the peoples of the world are physically near each other. And radio can spread propaganda and arouse the masses quickly. The development of modern armaments has made it possible for an aggressive nation with a large population and ample natural resources to arm and prepare itself to conquer nations less prepared. The yellow and black perils may be even greater than ever before.

It is possible for China, with 450 million people, or India, with 325 million—each country possesses resources that have not yet been properly exploited and developed—to create an army and air force that because of man power could only be resisted by a combination of countries such as Russia and Great Britain, or Russia and the United States, or all three.

Under present conditions it will be many years before either China or Japan could give the Caucasian peoples serious trouble; but even now the Chinese are awakening and, if we destroy Japanese militarism, who knows but what the next generation might see a new China which would emulate Japan? Instead of having seventy million people to fight, we would have a nation of 450 million. Indian hordes could likewise become formidable.

Am I drawing on my imagination? Would anyone have thought that when Commodore Perry forced the Japanese to open a port to our commerce ninety years ago, that these poor, ignorant, little people would today be able to fight two of the greatest nations of the world? When China is unified, some dictator or Chinese Napoleon might try to make this a "yellow" world. Or could not some Gandhi in khaki, with the vast resources of India, its minerals, its gold, silver, and jewels, its population of 325 million (some of whom make the finest soldiers), attempt to bring to the rest of the world the 10,000-year old culture of the Hindus, destroying or absorbing peoples and races, many of whom it is alleged are descended from common ancestors of these Indian Aryans?

There is then an element of danger in propagating the idea of equality to oriental and Indian peoples. If they themselves believe it, let them preach it themselves. Why wake up the two sleeping

giants—each over a third of a billion people—the Chinese and the Indians—by telling them that they are our equals, that they are just as good, and that they ought to assert themselves? Surely, this is sowing dragons' teeth. All the fanatics who tried to stir up the East Indians by urging them to revolt just because they did not like Great Britain were creating racial trouble for the future.

But as in the Pre-Darwinian age men worried about Malthus' theory of overpopulation and a decreasing food supply, and have since found their fears unrealized, so the fear that the tide of color will swamp the white race might not be justified. There is still a possibility, but as long as the white race holds itself aloof and does not let down the bars, the danger is distant. The Caucasian race is increasing in population at a greater rate than are the darker races. From 1800 to 1930 the white population of the world increased three and one-half times, whereas the Mongolians, Negroes, Malaysians and East Indians increased less than 50%. There are now 750,000,000 whites out of a total population of two billion, and, while they are outnumbered and their rate of increase is slowing down, it is still greater than that of India, China, Africa and the islands of the Pacific.

Therefore in another hundred years, instead of only one-third of the world's inhabitants being white, one-half or more will belong to the Caucasian race.

There is little danger, then, that the dark-skinned peoples will ever be able to conquer the white race, particularly if the latter is allowed another one hundred years to establish numerical equality.* There is still the possibility that China or India will unify its people, create a great army, and then divide and conquer the white peoples, but it is not probable. India cannot be unified for many years. The chances are against the Chinese in the near future being able to arm themselves, change their national psychology and then attempt to conquer Europe as did Ghengis Khan.

While the colored peoples of the world are not increasing in numbers and there is not likely to arise a yellow peril or a black peril that would endanger our security because of sheer numerical

* "So far as regards the danger that the darker peoples may rise to take from the white races the dominion which they hold, I cannot feel any fear."

—Dixon (Racial History of Man).

superiority, there is a more insidious danger now facing Caucasian peoples. The race can lose by absorption or amalgamation.

The darker races led by a few intelligent and disaffected members are revolting against the theory of inequality and are demanding that laws, regulations and customs embodied in the theory be done away with. Their attack is subtle in that it uses the same arguments which the liberty-loving people of the Anglo-Saxon race have used in developing their doctrine of democracy and freedom.

Colored peoples, or such of them who are vocative, are trying to break down the theory of racial superiority. Their arguments are plausible, and they are backed up with statements alleged to be scientifically true because propounded by certain professors in new and inexact sciences such as psychology and anthropology.

If they can break down prejudice and overcome the idea of racial inferiority, they can achieve social equality. And social equality leads to intermarriage and the merging of the races. Likewise in the Anglo-Saxon spirit of fairness, many will see the point of view of the equalitarian and will actively support the cause and fight for it.

The danger we face is not so much an armed revolt of the darker races, but the complacency of the Caucasians themselves. Instead of asserting and maintaining the superiority of the Caucasian race for their own good and the eventual good of all the world, some are willing to deny that superiority and to sacrifice their own racial purity in order to support an ideology that *seems* logical and is idealistic. The danger that confronts the white race comes from within, not from the hordes of docile, ignorant and unaggressive colored peoples who now outnumber the whites two to one.

Finally, the theory of equality arouses a false hope. It promises too much. When the hope is not realized and the promise unfulfilled, those who place their trust in this fallacious theory will experience a bitter disappointment. At the end of the rainbow they will not have found happiness. The theory will have proved to be a will-o-the-wisp. Disappointment is not one of the least of the evils of preaching a false doctrine. Some will not only be misled, but millions seeking the elusive "equality", which to them seems so important, will lose their faith in the moral order of the universe. The dark-skinned races of mankind are endangering their peace of mind, and making themselves unhappy when they attempt to change Nature's law and revoke her edict of inequality.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SUPERIORITY OF SOME RACES OF MANKIND
OVER OTHERS.

THAT all races are equal is the claim of racial propagandists. This claim is based on the authority of some anthropologists, and on the general proposition that the contrary theory of racial inequality is unproved.

One hundred years ago there was no doubt in the minds of scientists and writers on social subjects that there are distinct differences in the mental as well as in the physical qualities of different races. DeGobineau says (1853): "The idea of an original clear cut and permanent inequality among the different races is one of the oldest and most widely held opinions in the world." Travelers, observant writers, and those who studied primitive tribes in out-of-the-way places took it for granted that they were inferior to European peoples. There was no method of grading racial differences, but from observation arbitrary classifications were made, and the races were arranged in the following order with respect to their intelligence, culture and civilization:

1. Caucasian
2. Mongolian
3. Malaysian
4. Indian (Amer-Ind)
5. Negroid

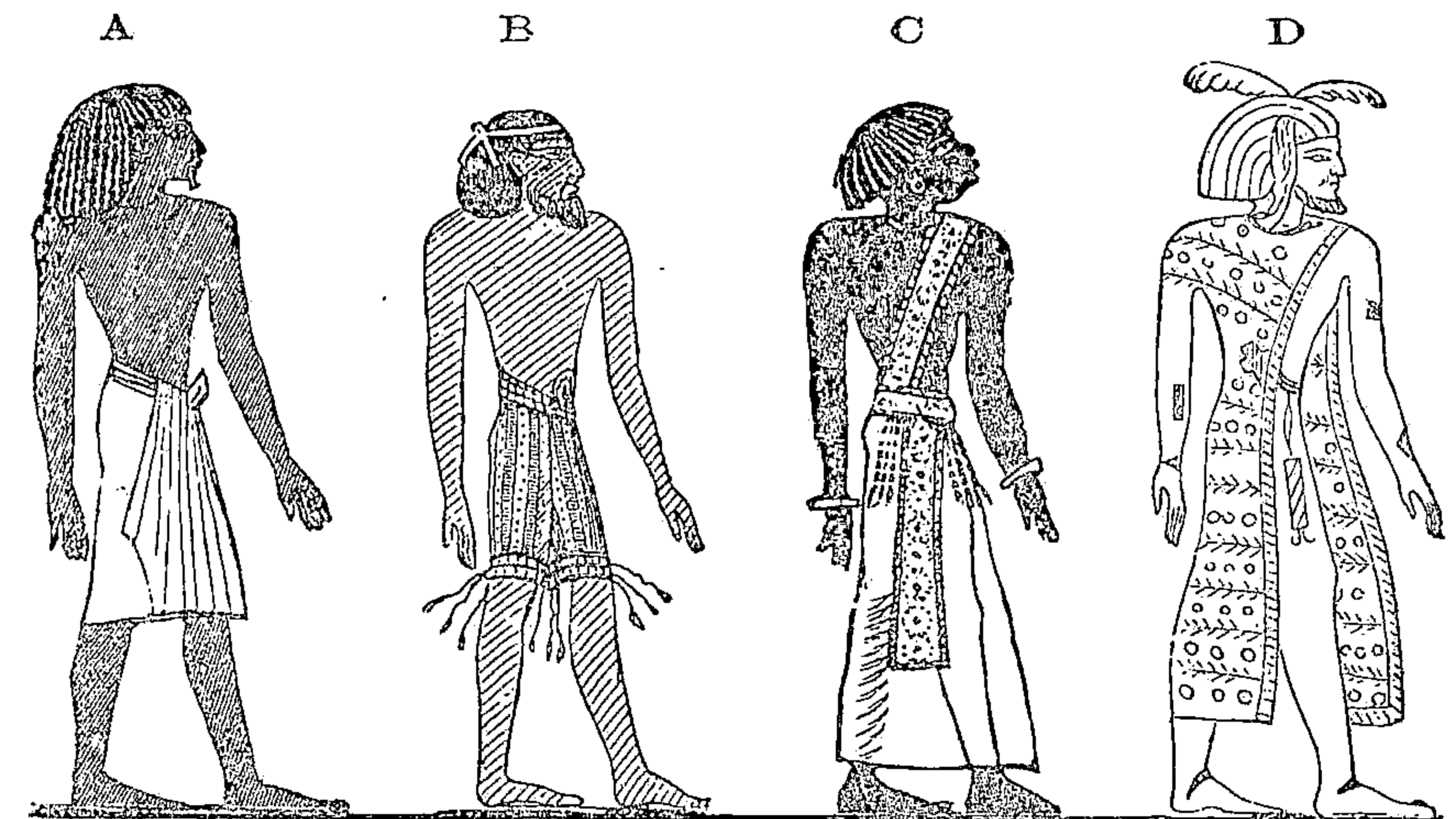
While this rough classification still seems to hold there is no scientific method of proving it to be right—mainly because of the disagreement in a definition of terms. What is intelligence? What is culture? What is civilization? But a study of history and of racial achievements in the light of common sense definitions, will confirm this categorical arrangement to be substantially correct.

It is difficult to show the difference in intelligence between the race at the top and that at the bottom of the list, if your definition of intelligence is too elastic. In a comparison of whites and Negroes, although physical differences are admitted, some writers do not admit that there is a difference in mentality. That they are wrong

will be proved in another chapter.* But if we use these terms as they are ordinarily understood, even to the casual observer, there is a vast difference in races. Our soldiers in the South Pacific, although they may now have more respect for the natives there than they had before, have observed that the difference between the Pacific islanders and white people is very great—that their mentality is of a lower order and their culture inferior.

The word "race" is anathema to modern anthropologists. "Race" has been applied to a nation such as the French; to peoples who speak the same language such as the Aryans; and to groups with a unified language and culture, such as the Scotch or the Irish. It is plain that all these so-called races are Caucasians, or members of the white

* Pro-Negro anthropologists attack the fact of racial achievement by asserting that all races are mixed, consequently there is "in every one a little bit of everybody else". They ask, "what is race?", and quote Dixon and Hooton to the effect that there are no longer any "primary" races. Technically this may be true, but certainly the African Negro is "primary" compared to the Caucasian.



Old Wood Cut.

The Egyptians of the Fifteenth Century, B.C., divided mankind into four races as shown by the above representations. The hieroglyphic inscriptions term these figures, left to right: *Rot*, *Nemu*, *Nashu* and *Tamhu*. They fit in with the color classification of red, yellow, black and white. Figure A is the ROT or Egyptian race—"the" race—always colored in decorations and paintings a red or brownish red. Figure B represents the yellow or Asiatic group of races. Figure C represents the Negro race, and Figure D, the white race. It would seem that the Egyptians of 3500 years ago knew something about ethnology. (See footnote, pg. 69).

race. Even the Jews, who are most often thought of as an alien race, are Caucasians. In fact, today most anthropologists believe that, with the exception of a few peoples in Northern Africa, most Jews are not Semites but are Jews only in religion and in culture. The so-called European races as mixed as they may be—and they are not as mixed as some think—are all members of one race.

The original division of mankind into five races, the white, the yellow, the brown, the red and the black seems logical.* Most modern anthropologists have reduced them to three—the white, the yellow and the black—the red men or the American Indians being classed as Mongolians, and some of the brown races as Mongoloid and others Negroid or a mixture of both. On the other hand one prominent ethnologist classifies mankind into twenty-six races. In any event, there are at least three distinct races besides innumerable gradations and mixtures of these three. Some times it is difficult to tell the pure race from the mixed. For instance, in south-east Africa, the Bushmen and the Hottentots are not pure Negroes, but have some white blood in them.

Whether there are twenty-six races, five races, or three races is not so important. The important fact is that there are races that exhibit so many differences when compared to others that they might almost be classed as sub-species. If, then, there are such differences between races, it must follow that there is a racial superiority of one over another—at least with respect to the differences.

It is stated definitely, however, by some ethnologists that there is no difference in intelligence—and this quality plus the love of action is what produces culture and civilization—between races, and that one race is not superior to another.† They admit that there is a difference in the achievements of races, but they explain this by saying that their "cultures" are different, or that the differences are caused by environment, such as climate and habitat.

* Other classifications of races; The Bible—Hamitic from Ham, Semitic from Shem, Japhetic from Japheth; Cuvier—Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro; Blumenbach—"the father of anthropology"—Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, Malaysian.

† The American Ethnological Society at its centenary meeting on November 14, 1942, attended by one hundred scientists from leading universities, passed the following resolution:

"Be It Resolved: That the American Ethnological Society, for 100 years dedicated to the study of peoples not belonging to Western civiliza-

The failure of the negroid races to develop a civilization that measures up to the occidental idea of civilization, or to add anything to world culture is laid to environment. Every savage tribe has a culture of a sort. As soon as men enlarged their groups from families to tribes, then customs and laws arose, which are in effect

tion, express upon the occasion of its centenary celebration its profound conviction that racial persecution and discrimination cannot be scientifically justified.

"We protest the distortion of anthropology which falsely assigns inborn superiority to some one 'race' and assigns others to inborn inferiority. Ethnological studies rouse enthusiasm for the inventions and social life of many peoples of all races and make it impossible to assent to the dogma that civilization depends upon the enslavement of one race by another."

The wording of the resolution shows that, aside from the so-called "distortion of anthropology" the members were principally concerned with racial discrimination and persecution and the "enslavement of one race by another". Thus the scientific opinions of the members were clouded with emotion and with sympathy for the so-called down-trodden races.

One wonders what proportion of its total membership was present, and what proportion of its complete membership would have approved the resolution. Furthermore, many of these scientists are on the faculties of state universities which are subjected to political pressure. In voting for the resolution how many of these professors were influenced by the fear of attack by Negro organizations?

The passage of this resolution by an ethnological conclave, denying the existence of racial superiority, reminds one of the august council that in Columbus' day decided that the world was not round but flat. When Columbus applied to the Spanish Court for assistance his request was referred to a Council of the Church at Salamanca. Before this council his theory of the rotundity of the earth was denounced as impious, and proved to be false by the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Epistles as well as the writings of St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Ambrose. The authority of Cosmos Indicopleustes was invoked—a patristic geographer who for eight hundred years had overcome all advocates of the theory of the world being round by asking how, on the Day of Judgment, men on the other side of the globe could see the Lord descending through the air! It was finally argued that, as a matter of common sense, if Columbus was right and he should depart from Spain he could never get back . . . "the rotundity of the earth would present a kind of mountain up which it was impossible for him to sail, even with the fairest wind."

The Council ruled against Columbus' plan, and his voyage was delayed for years. The difference between the ethnologists and the Council is that the former could not see the obvious, while the members of the Council saw only the obvious.

a "culture", if only a primitive one.* But most tribes did not advance farther.

Thus we get back to the old question of which is more important—heredity or environment. Is a people, then, the result of its environment or its culture? Or does a people produce its particular culture because of characteristics inherent in them? Although it is admitted that men are bound by certain limitations and that their fate is thus more or less determined; that, as Bacon says, "four species of idols beset the human mind", yet if this theory of "handicaps" is carried out too far then men can *only* do what it is ordained that they should do. The wild rose could never develop into a garden rose because it is predestined by environment and by the nature of things to remain a wild rose.

This is the philosophy of fatalism which permeates the East and many parts of the world, and it is particularly the philosophy of Negroes. The Mohammedan says, "Kismet"—"it is fate". He gives up in battle, or he does not try to overcome the obstacles that are met with in an ordinary life, if the tide seems to be running against him. To struggle further is of no use. His life is all planned out ahead of time; he cannot avoid his fate.

The difference between oriental and occidental philosophy is well illustrated by the story of two mice that fell into a pail of milk. One of them after swimming a while became discouraged. "What is the use," he said, "I am bound to sink sooner or later." So he gave up and sank down to a milky grave. But the other kept on swimming, and lo and behold! his efforts churned the cream into a ball of butter, and this furnished him a raft upon which to rest and eventually enabled him to climb out of the pail and escape.

Whether environment determines the culture of a race, or whether a race masters its environment and creates an advanced culture in spite of environment might be debated by some. But from a study of history with its record of human achievement, combined with the proved principle of evolution, it would seem that race

* Goldenweiser says that all primitive tribes have a form of civilization—"Religion, art, social and political organizations, industries, economic pursuits and ideas". They are mainly lacking in science. He also states that they are imitative and get ideas from contacts. If such is the case why did so few of them absorb some of the cultures of the more progressive peoples near them? Why did not some of the African tribes import and assimilate the inventions and cultural ideas of the Egyptians?

comes before culture, and a high form of civilization is the result of efforts of an energetic, aggressive and inventive people.*

"Circumstances!" said Napoleon, "I make circumstances!" This is the attitude of the man of action. The white race has ever shown the spirit of initiative. It does not wait a thousand years for a hut to burn down to find out that roast pork is good to eat. It does not wander about naked, exposed to the wind and rain as did the aborigines of Australia, but it makes clothes of skins, and weaves garments of the fibre of plants. It does not huddle under a tree or in a leafy nest as do gorillas, but builds shelter and rude houses to protect itself. It invents weapons for hunting and for war. It accumulates property and seeks to barter and trade, and it seeks ever to improve its physical, its mental and moral condition.

The black races, living in tropical climates where fruits and nuts are plentiful and where clothing is not required for protection against the winter's cold, do not attempt to improve or change their condition. For thousands of years they remain the same, without changing their customs, habits or culture.

The Africans undoubtedly came in contact with European culture at various times, yet the millions of blacks in the tropical jungles of that continent never tried to raise their standard of living themselves, or to adopt any of the ideas of other people. They never even approximated the Egyptian civilization, which was in existence at least 5,000 years before Christ, or learned anything from it. In fact, even today in Africa there are tribes exhibiting the same primitive culture that they have lived in for many generations. They sell their own people or their captured enemies into slavery, and they practice human sacrifice and cannibalism. European governments, in governing their "protectorates", have attempted to stamp out these particular practices, but even where there is no actual cannibalism, the same witchcraft, the same taboos, and the same primitive religions exist.

* "Desire is the social force, and where there is no desire, no will, there is no force, no social energy, or, to use Ratzenhafer's terminology, there must be a lively interest or there can be no achievement. It is this minute interest that makes men fight and conquer and struggle. It is the same which makes them undertake voyages of discovery in search of Golden Fleeces, or El Dorados, or Northwest Passages. Interest impels mankind to explore, to migrate, to invent, to labor, to produce wealth, to seek knowledge, to discover truth, to create objects both of use and beauty—in a word to achieve."

—Lester F. Ward—"Pure Sociology."

As with individuals, so with races. A master, leaving for a far off country, gave one of his servants five talents, another two and another one with instructions that the capital be used to the best advantage. When he returned he asked what had been done. The first said, "I have doubled my talents." The second said that he had doubled his, but the third told his master that he was afraid of losing his one talent so he buried it in the ground. He returned the talent, but with no profit or increment.

The white race has doubled or tripled its five talents, the Mongolian has doubled its two, but the Negro has now no more than he had at the start. The Negro hid his one talent because of fear and lack of initiative. Some might say that the white race was not given five talents and the Negroes only one—I am not attempting a play on words, although it may very well be a fair ratio of the physical and mental abilities assigned to each race—that in actuality the talents were more equally allotted. If this is so, it is even more to the discredit of the Negro race. If the talents entrusted to it were the same as those given the whites, the Negro race has buried them all in the ground, and not risked one-half or one-fourth of its capital on the possibility and probability of getting it back with a profit. All these talents have lain dormant, so to speak, while the more enterprising and appreciative white servants have doubled and even trebled theirs, to their own great benefit and the glory of the Master.

It has been pointed out that there are no geniuses among the Hottentots, and that their cultural achievements are small. From this it is concluded that they are an inferior people. Kroeber* answers this charge with the assertion that "The mind of the Hottentot is intrinsically identical with our own . . . and that Hottentot geniuses have actually been born but have been unable to flourish as geniuses"—because of their environment, presumably.

This is a fallacious argument. Perhaps one genius, yes many geniuses, might have succumbed and been unable to flourish, but in the course of thousands of years if the Hottentots had produced their average of geniuses—let us say, persons with an I. Q. of 180—some of these would have been able to overcome the limitations of their environment. Their progress would have been slow at first, but, as one genius after another arose, their cumulative efforts would have developed a civilization and the race become dominant. In such

* Kroeber's *Anthropology*, page 71 (Harcourt-Brace.)

manner it must have happened among European races or the Indo-Europeans. For thousands of years primeval men made small progress. Then little by little, an inventor improved his hunting equipment, or devised, let us say, the wheel by which his fellow tribesmen were more easily able to transport goods and produce from one place to another; or, writing was invented so that stories, poems, records and history might be handed down to their descendants to add to their store of knowledge or enrich their traditions. Little by little wealth was accumulated, property rights established, and government instituted to promote security and stability. In this and in a thousand other ways the civilization of a people was developed.

Isolation doesn't account for the failure of certain races to become more civilized.* The mongoloids in Mexico and Peru developed a civilization all their own. The negroids in Africa, where they were not as isolated, and in Australia cannot charge their deficiencies to their environment. They did not have within themselves the faculty for progress. Says E. A. Hooton ("Up from the Ape"—Pg. 162):

"The Australian has had as much time to develop a culture as has the Englishman. . . . If environmental circumstances make progress unfavorable, the progressive animal attempts to shift his habitat to a more favorable environment."

It must be admitted that it is difficult to prove with mathematical exactitude general statements about the superiority of one group of human beings over another. Yet, "averages" may be arrived at by close observation that will more or less approximate the truth.

* "It is said that the Negro has been buried in the most 'massive' of the four continents, and has been, so to speak, lost to humanity; but he was always on the Nile, the immediate road to the Mediterranean, and in West and East Africa he was on the sea. Africa is probably more fertile, and almost certainly richer than Asia, and is pierced by rivers as mighty, and some of them at least as navigable. What could a singularly healthy race, armed with a constitution which resists the sun and defies malaria, wish for better than to be seated on the Nile, or the Congo, or the Niger, in numbers amply sufficient to execute any needed work, from the cutting of forests and the making of roads up to the building of cities? How was the Negro more secluded than the Peruvian; or why was he "shut up" worse than the Tartar of Samarcand, [Timur, the Lame, known as Tamerlane] who one day shook himself, gave up all tribal feuds, and, from the Sea of Okhotsk to the Baltic and southward to the Nerbudda, mastered the world."

—Meredith Townsend.

For instance, one can generalize about a herd of cows or a flock of sheep and compare them favorably or unfavorably with other herds and flocks. If we can do this with animals why can't we generalize to the same extent about a group of human beings? It would be fair to say then that the "run of mine" white is superior to the "run of mine" black, if it so appears to the observer.

H. S. Jennings (The Biological Basis of Human Nature) under the heading, "Are Certain Races Superior?"—after mentioning differences between individuals says: "And indisputably, differences in all these respects are found among human beings; they may therefore be found on the average, as between races."

Following the Socratic method we may ask ourselves the following questions:

- Is one man superior to another?
- Is one family superior to another?
- Is one tribe superior to another?
- Is one nation superior to another?
- Is one race superior to another?

Having answered the first one or two questions in the affirmative, it logically follows that the others must be answered the same way.

As the following chapters will show, the superiority of the white race over other races will be proved from observation, from historical records and from intelligence tests and biological comparisons.

* * * *

I append here a few quotations from important writers extending over a period of two hundred years.

1744

David Hume, great English philosopher, was born in 1711, and died in 1776. He was a profound thinker and wrote on philosophy, psychology, ethics and economics. The following quotation is from "Essays, Moral and Political", Vol. II:

I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilization of that complexion, nor even any individual, eminent either in action or speculation.

1776 - 1788

Edward Gibbon was one of the world's greatest historians. His famous work has been amended and corrected in detail, but his general conclusions are still considered sound. Gibbon favored the

abolition of slavery at a time when other prominent men opposed the anti-slavery movement. Here is his observation on the Negro race from Volume 3, Page 277 of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire":

These gloomy terrors [the invasion of Rome from the South by Negro barbarians] would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect either of their virtue or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passion and appetites, and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defense or destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone.

1858

Abraham Lincoln was not a scientist but he was a great writer and a practical man. He did more than any one man to give the Negroes their freedom in the United States. The following quotation is taken from a speech in his debate with Douglas at Ottawa, Ill., on August 21, 1858, and shows how he felt about the inferiority of the Negro race.

I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.

1863

H. A. Taine, famous French critic and historian, wrote what is considered the best criticism of English literature. The following quotation is taken from the introduction of his "History of English Literature":

Three different sources contribute to produce this elementary moral state—race, surroundings and epoch. What we call the race are the innate and hereditary dispositions which man brings with him into the world, and which, as a rule, are united with the marked differences in the temperament and structure of the body. They vary with various peoples. There is a

natural variety of men, as of oxen and horses, some brave and intelligent, some timid and dependent, some capable of superior conceptions and creations, some reduced to rudimentary ideas and inventions, some more specially fitted to special works, and gifted more richly with particular instincts, as we meet with species of dogs better favored than others—those for coursing, those for fighting, those for hunting, these again for house dogs or shepherds' dogs. We have here a distinct force—so distinct that amidst the vast deviations which the other two motive forces produce in him, one can recognize it still; and a race, like the old Aryans, scattered from the Ganges as far as the Hebrides, settled in every clime, and every stage of civilization, transformed by thirty centuries of revolutions, nevertheless manifests in its languages, religions, literatures, philosophies, the community of blood and of intellect which to this day binds its offshoots together. Different as they are, their parentage is not obliterated; barbarism, culture and grafting, differences of sky and soil, fortunes good and bad, have labored in vain: the great marks of the original model have remained, and we find again the two or three principal lineaments of the primitive stamp underneath the secondary imprints which time has laid upon them.

1875

Thomas Huxley, English scientist and naturalist, was a popular interpreter of Darwin's theory of the origin of the species and natural selection. Huxley was a brilliant thinker and writer. While modern science has modified Darwin's theory, Huxley's writings on evolution are fundamentally sound. He was one of the world's greatest scientists. This quotation is from "Emancipation, Black and White".

It may be true that some Negroes are better than some white men; but no rational man, cognizant of the facts, believes that the average Negro is the equal, still less the superior, of the average white man. And, if this be true, it is simply incredible that, when all his disabilities are removed, and our prognathous relative has a fair field and no favour, as well as no oppressor, he will be able to compete successfully with his bigger-brained and smaller-jawed rival, in a contest which is to be carried on by thoughts and not by bites. The highest places in the hierarchy of civilisation will assuredly not be within the reach of our dusky cousins, though it is by no means necessary that they should be restricted to the lowest. But whatever the position of stable equilibrium into which the laws of social gravitation may bring the negro, all responsibility for the result will henceforward lie between Nature and him.

1918

William Archer is a well-known English critic and writer and publicist. He traveled in the United States, South America and India and made observations on the problems of race in all these countries. The following is taken from "India and the Future":

In moving among negroes, one has constantly to avow—perhaps to struggle against—a sense of their fundamental, inherent, ineradicable inferiority. Whatever may be their amiable and even admirable qualities, one cannot resist the conviction that they are some degrees nearer the brute; nor can one wonder at their proved incapacity to evolve for themselves any approach to civilization.

1933

Oliverira Vianna is a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. He himself is of mixed blood. The following translation of a paragraph from one of his books is taken from Donald Pierson's "Negroes in Brazil":

The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture: their capacity for civilization—their civilizability, so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.

CHAPTER V.

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE WHITE RACE
COMPARED TO THOSE OF OTHER RACES.

A detailed comparison of the leading civilizations of the world—ancient or modern—is beyond the scope of this book. But in order to show that some races are superior to others, it is well to summarize the accomplishments of those peoples who have achieved the highest civilizations, as well as those of other peoples whose civilizations were or are inferior, so that a rough comparison might be made.

First, let us attempt to define the word *civilization*. Robinson Crusoe on his lonely island might be said to have been civilized. He lived in a one-man civilization. A family, a tribe, or a group of tribes, with the same customs and taboos, have a civilization, since they exist by each other's consent, and live because they co-operate or work together. But in the broader sense neither of these conditions complies with the definition of civilization.

Unfortunately the definitions given in the dictionaries are not satisfactory. From the Century:

Civilization—the act of civilizing or the state of being civilized; the state of being reclaimed from the rudeness of savage life and advanced in arts and learning.

Webster's definition is:

A state of social culture characterized by relative progress in the arts, sciences and statecraft; variously: A culture characteristic of modern Europe. (Under "*Civilize*" the definition is more specific.) To reclaim from a savage or somewhat barbarous state; introduce order and civic organization among; refine and enlighten; elevate in social and individual life.

These definitions leave much to be desired. They say in effect that civilization is the opposite of barbarism. Just where one begins and the other leaves off it would be difficult to decide. And, of course, it depends on what civilization you belong to, as to whether you thought yours was "the" civilization and the other fellow's barbarism.

A Chinaman might feel that he is more civilized than an American. An American with his automobiles, radios and telephones,

schools and colleges within reach of all, and a high standard of living might feel that his country is the more civilized one.

Civilization is a state of society which is not simply a contrast to barbarism. It comprises accumulation of wealth and the accrual of many social developments brought about by the multi-fold activities of a people. From playing chess to horse racing, from the art of poetry to crossword puzzles, from determining the length of a spirochete to measuring the distance to a star, from counting the blood corpuscles in a drop of blood to counting the people of a nation, from playing a harmonica to conducting a symphony, from constructing a watch to building a 40,000-ton battleship, from dolls and toys to aeroplanes and automobiles, from curing a man of fever to removing a tumor from the brain, from skywriting to writing a book—these and thousands of other activities make up a civilized existence. Civilization connotes material, intellectual and spiritual development, and gradual improvement in the liberal and practical arts. It means stability, safety, and prosperity for a nation or people.

Among other definitions of civilization is that of Tylor: "Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

William Von Humboldt epitomizes: "Civilization is the humanizing of peoples both in their outward customs and institutions, and in the inward feelings that correspond to these."

And Guizot in his "History of Civilization" writes: "It seems to me that the first idea comprised in the word *civilization* is the notion of progress, of development. It calls up within us the notion of a people advancing, of a people in a course of improvement and melioration. . . . On one hand there is a manifest increase in the power and well-being of society at large; and on the other a more equitable distribution of this power and this well-being among the individuals of which society is composed. . . . Two elements, then, seem to be comprised in the great fact which we call civilization,—two circumstances are necessary to its existence—it lives upon two conditions—it reveals itself by two symptoms; the progress of society, the progress of individuals; the melioration of the social system, and the expansion of the mind and faculties of man. Wherever the exterior condition of man becomes enlarged, quick

CIVILIZATION—SCALED TO 100 POINTS

Showing the elements that make it up and their approximate value in points.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I LANGUAGE—5
 Primitive—1
 To
 Highly Developed—5</p> <p>II GOVERNMENT—5
 Order—1
 Security—1
 Liberty—1
 Justice—1
 Freedom of Speech—½
 Freedom of Religion—½</p> <p>III RELIGION—5
 Magic—1
 Nature Worship—1
 Pantheism—1
 Theism—1
 Belief in Immortality—1</p> <p>IV ARCHITECTURE—5
 Engineering—1
 Thatched and Mud
 Houses—½
 Wood Houses—½
 Tombs—1
 Palaces and Stone
 Houses—1
 Temples and Churches—1</p> <p>V AGRICULTURE—5
 Horticulture—1
 Stock-Breeding—1
 Improving Seeds—1
 Soil Improvement—1
 Mechanical—1
 Plows, Harvesters, etc.</p> <p>VI WRITING—5
 Ideographic—1
 Phonetic—2
 Record-Keeping—1
 Printing—1
 Books, Newspapers and
 Magazines</p> | <p>VII HANDICRAFTS—5
 Weaving—2
 Pottery—2
 Glassware—1</p> <p>VIII TRANSPORTATION—5
 Man-Power—1
 Animals and Wagons—1
 Ships—1
 Railroads—1
 Motor Cars and Air-
 planes—1</p> <p>IX MILITARY AND NAVAL—5
 Engines of War—1
 Gunpowder—4</p> <p>X ART—5
 Painting—2
 Sculpture—3</p> <p>XI PHILOSOPHY—5
 Philosophic Theories—1
 Morals—1
 Ethics—1
 Charity—1
 Pity—1</p> <p>XII SCIENCE—10
 Physics—1
 Mathematics—1
 Astronomy—1
 Chemistry—1
 Geology—1
 Geography—1
 Biology—1
 Surgery—1
 Medicine—1
 Preventive
 Bacteriology
 Sanitation
 Longevity
 Psychology—1</p> |
|--|---|

- XIII ECONOMICS—5**
 Banking—1
 Money—1
 Business—1
 Manufacturing—1
 Trade—1

- XIV EDUCATION—5**
 Libraries—1
 Museums—1
 Universities—1
 Schools—1
 Accessibility to Masses
 and Literacy—1

- XV LITERATURE—5**
 History—1
 Poetry—1
 Essays—1
 Drama—1
 Novels—1

- XVI MUSIC—3**

- XVII SOCIOLOGY—5**
 Improvement of Condition
 of Women—1

- Care of Poor—1
 Penology—1
 Care of Insane—1
 Insurance—1

- XVIII COMMUNICATION—5**
 Signaling—1
 Postal Service—1
 Radio—1
 Telegraph—1
 Telephone—1

- XIX MECHANICAL IMPROVE-
MENTS—5**
 Invention—1
 Steam Power—1
 Machinery—1
 Machines that do away
 with Drudgery—1
 Electrical Devices—1

- XX SPORTS—2**
 Indoor—Games; Chess,
 Playing Cards, etc—1
 Outdoor—1

NOTE

The scale is divided into 20 main sections with subdivisions representing a total of 100 points. This is purely an arbitrary arrangement, made for the purpose of facilitating comparisons. It is subject to critical analysis and re-arrangement. For instance, one sociologist might rate *Government* higher than 5 and *Handicrafts* lower. Another might think *Religion* over pointed. *Communication* is probably over-valued. The subheads are assigned values that are debatable. Under *Architecture*, "Engineering" might be valued at 2 and "Tombs" ½. Under *Mechanical Improvements*, "Invention" is inclusive and perhaps should have more points. Under the heading *Religion*, as under *Language*, the subheads really should not be pointed because "Magic" is not entitled to 1 or any point at all since the religion of "Theism" is so far advanced above animism or magic. The scale could better have been divided into a thousand points. In this way each grand division and sub-division could have been assigned values nearer to their importance on the scale. But a thousand-point scale would have been too complicated for my purpose. My general idea is to list the essentials that go to make up civilization so that the reader can roughly evaluate them for himself, in order to compare the civilizations of the past and present, as well as the civilization of any country with that of another.

But on the whole there has never existed in the history of the world before our time a civilization in which so many people have attained a high standard of living, when nearly every one is literate, when there is a wide appreciation of the fine arts, of literature, music and painting, and where there is freedom of expression, free enterprise, and where the virtues of charity and pity are extolled and practiced.

Let us see how other civilizations compare with our own.

Here are the leading civilizations of the ancient world:

Egyptian
 Babylonian and Assyrian
 Hindu
 Chinese
 Jewish
 Cretan and Phoenician
 Greek
 Roman
 Mayan
 Inca
 Japanese
 Malaysian



From Wood Cut by Rosellini.

Double file of Negroes and Nubians bound and driven before the chariot of Ramses II (about 1250 B. C.)

I do not list the Persians who succeeded the Babylonians and Assyrians, or the Arabs or the Turks, their civilizations developed after ancient civilization passed away. I do include the Mayans and the Incas because, while not so ancient, they represent cultures distant and different from those of either ancient or modern times.

Occidental civilizations, which are to be compared with the others, take in all the European countries whose civilizations developed from the time of the Italian Renaissance down to the present time, including the United States. The Chinese, the Hindus and the Japanese, of course, are ancient and modern.

It may perhaps be lengthening our discussion to describe the civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Crete and Phoenicia, Palestine, Greece and Rome, since all these nations were peopled by branches of the Caucasian race*. But a glance at some of them will serve to refresh our memories and assist in making a comparison.

THE EGYPTIANS

The ancient Egyptian civilization was the oldest in the world as its historical records go back 4500 years B.C. Lasting until the fall of the Roman Empire, it existed continuously for 5,000 years and perhaps longer. Egypt was an isolated country. Inaccessible on the East because of the Red Sea, on the West the desert held off invaders, even as in 1943 it enabled the British to defend Egypt from the Germans. From the South, Egypt could be approached

* Some ethnologists deny that the Egyptians were a Caucasian people, but while the statues found in their tombs indicate a dark skinned people, they are said by other ethnologists not to be negroid. Eugene Pittard, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Geneva, thinks that the Egyptians are an autochthonous people and that they are not Negroes. He says in his "Race and History" that the influence of the Sudanese and the Negroes on Egypt was nil. From Haddon we learn that:

The ancient Egyptian artists who decorated the royal tombs at Thebes in the XVIII Dynasty (1580 B.C.) distinguished between four races:

1. The Egyptians, whom they painted red;
2. The Asiatics or Semites who were colored yellow;
3. The Southerners or Negroes, who naturally were painted black; and
4. The Westerners or Northerners, white.

Where the Egyptians came from nobody knows, but they were not Negroes as they prevented the Negro peoples from Ethiopia and Nubia from settling in their country for thousands of years.

only through a narrow valley. The northern or northeastern side was its vulnerable spot. Thus the country was seldom invaded or conquered, and the people became homogeneous, and their civilization developed without the interference of outside cultures.

The Egyptians were primarily an agricultural people, and they developed the art further than their contemporaries. Even in Roman times Egypt was the granary of the empire. The Egyptians were excellent engineers. They built the dams and planned the system of irrigation that used the overflow of the Nile for watering their fields. Their architecture was distinctive and our architectural forms trace back to it. They had considerable surgical skill and possessed dental and other surgical instruments made of iron; also a knowledge of drugs and medicine—they were expert embalmers. Their knowledge of astronomy was extensive considering the lack of telescopes. They invented writing and papyrus to write upon, and they kept complete historical records for thousands of years. They produced good sculptors and painters. Their craftsmen were excellent and designed beautiful jewelry. They excelled in weaving and in making pottery and glassware. In their religion they were far in advance of savage tribes since they believed in a future life.

When compared to our civilization, however, the Egyptians were primitive. In the first place, the government was an autocracy with the king having absolute power. He owned all the land and collected rent from all users of it. He could assign workmen to various fields or projects as needed. Egypt is a good example of a planned economy. This led to misplaced efforts such as the enormous energy and manpower used in building the pyramids and the tombs of the kings. It took a hundred thousand men twenty years to build the great pyramid of Cheops. Intellectually, the Egyptians never reached the position of the Greeks and Romans, and their culture could not be compared favorably to either.

THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

Although not isolated like the Egyptians, the Sumerians—the ancestors of the Babylonians and the Assyrians—were an ancient people, and their records likewise go back several thousand years B.C. Theirs was an agricultural civilization, and their cities were in the valley of the Euphrates. Without stone for building material, they had to make bricks out of clay, so their architecture was dif-

ferent from that of the Egyptians. Their artists and sculptors produced a splendid art. They invented writing, and their records are preserved for thousands of years on clay tablets. The rulers of Babylon, however, did not own all the property as in Egypt, but the nobles and rich men were the land owners. The business records of the Babylonians are of great interest, as there were banks and commercial institutions. The Babylonians and Assyrians were an energetic and enterprising people—great in peace as well as in war. Their civilization was about on a par with that of the Egyptians.

HINDUS

In an India of 382,000,000 people there is no single nationality. Speaking 147 different languages, the people are a mixed type and range from the "dark" Caucasians to intermixtures of them with Mongolians, Negroids and Malaysians. The problems of life today in India center around two interests, namely, religion and caste. An Indian takes both of these seriously. Not for this reason but because of their philosophy of non-resistance and fatalism, and because of the *reductio ad absurdum* to which the idea of caste has been carried, the peoples of India have been unprogressive.

Since India comprises many different races or racial mixtures, many of which have different languages, customs and cultures, we cannot write about them in detail. But the Hindu religion and the Hindu element in India comprise the largest part of the Indian people.

The early Hindus knew how to read and write. One of the oldest books in the world is the "Rig-Veda". Their language was Sanskrit, and from this is derived most of the modern languages of Europe. Sanskrit is supposed to have been the language of the Aryans, the early white settlers of India. And since our languages are derived from Sanskrit, up until recently it was thought that the peoples of Europe, speaking the derivative languages, were Aryans. The early "Aryans" or Nordics or whites, who invaded India were relatively quite civilized in their mode of living. They had blacksmiths and workers in copper and gold, and there were carpenters and other artisans.

The ancient Indians had an architecture, but they did not use stone or brick. All their buildings were made of wood. Because of this very few buildings erected before 500 B.C. still exist. But after the Christian era, many remarkable and distinctive buildings were

erected in India. In fact one of the most beautiful in the world is the Taj Mahal at Agra.

The literature of the Hindus is extensive. But there is very little definite historical record before the time of Alexander the Great. Indian writings tended toward poetry, philosophy and religion.

According to the Hindus their civilization compares in antiquity to China. Although India has given the world a philosophy, and the Christian religion is derived from Buddhism, the Indian civilization is a distinctly inferior one from the standpoint of occidentals.

Until recently the Hindus were guilty of vile practices, such as "suttee", the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre when the husband died. The East Indians also practiced infanticide. William Archer tells of a friend of a British official discussing with the durbar of a native state the amount which he ought to spend at the wedding of his sister. In order to advise the durbar, he was asked how much he had spent on similar cases in the past. The durbar replied that there was no precedent. "The girl was the first in the family that had been allowed to live."

William Archer also relates that: "A middle-aged punjabi gentleman recently told him that he had been compelled as a boy to assist at the murder of an infant sister, and that an aunt had seven daughters and had killed them all."

Child marriage is another social crime of the East Indians. This perhaps is the most cruel of all customs, since the little brides suffer mentally and physically, often dying early.

The English people have been charged with keeping India in thralldom in order to exploit it. But the British have done much for India. In the sixteenth century the conditions were appalling there. The British have brought it peace and a considerable measure of prosperity. They have stopped fighting among the tribes, put an end to suttee and infanticide, and have endeavored to introduce Western ideas to these people who are really barbarians still, although their philosophy and their religion is noble. The East Indians are caste-bound and hide-bound, and it is very difficult to change them.

Death by starvation is common in India and disease and pestilence are rampant still. Race, race mixture, philosophy, and a caste system with the wrong accent have kept the Indians from advancing. Their civilization is indeed an inferior one.

CHINESE

The Chinese have an old and stable civilization. In fact the Chinese have been civilized so long that they have become static. During the last two or three thousand years, while the Western world was developing from barbarism to the civilization we have today, the Chinese remained just as they were many generations ago. Believing in ancestor worship, they are a conservative and unprogressive people.

The Chinese are an honest people.* They pay their debts and if a man dies and leaves obligations, his sons will pay them. The Chinese are a just people, but the Chinese are inferior to Europeans because they do not like to change and they are not aggressive. The Chinaman is industrious and he is brave. He works hard but he spends about 98 percent of his income for rent and food, (In the U. S. we spend about 35% for food and 25% for rent), so the mass of people cannot accumulate wealth and there is no surplus. The standard of living is extremely low.

The Chinese were an inventive people. In the last thousand years, however, this faculty has been dormant. They are said to have invented printing, paper making and many other useful arts. They are great painters. Their literature is one of the oldest and most extensive in the world.

But Chinese civilization has developed some terrible customs too. Parents will sell their offspring into slavery. The position of women is considerably degraded. However, when a woman becomes old, she is often venerated. For centuries the Chinese deformed the feet of the girls. Foot binding was practiced by rich and poor throughout China. The Chinese practice infanticide. The writer remembers talking to a man who lived in Peking at the turn of the century, and he had seen the bodies of baby girls thrown over the city's wall.

China's customs are quaint and sometimes shocking. It would seem that almost everything is done in a directly opposite manner from that of Western peoples. The Chinese wear white for mourning instead of black. They have their funerals at midnight. The women wear trousers and the men wear gowns. Until recently they cut off all their hair except one long queue. Their medicine is of

* This honesty is purely personal. Public officials are venal, and graft is widely prevalent.

the most primitive sort. They eat eggs that are one hundred years old.

China is wracked with terrible floods and famines. The great majority of 450 million people struggle to keep body and soul together.

The Chinese indeed have a civilization, but it is not the kind that appeals to Americans or Europeans.

Jews

The Jews are Semites, a branch of the Caucasian race, that occupied Palestine and Syria for about 1500 years B.C. They were a farming and pastoral people. Their history is confusing since the Bible chronology is uncertain and there are many gaps in it.

In any event, the Jews could read and write and the Hebrew language has been preserved from ancient times down to the present. They were not artists, sculptors or artisans, and when Solomon built his temple he had to send to Hiram of Troy for skilled artificers. There is no Jewish architecture. In law and in morals and in religion Jewish thought has had a lasting effect, and a Jew was the founder of Christianity.* They gave us the Ten Commandments. Their regulations for every day living and their sanitary code have been admired by moderns. The greater part of the Bible, the Old Testament, is concerned with the Jewish people and their history, their laws and the preachments of their prophets. Thus the early civilization of the Jews has become important in our concept of history. Actually their civilization was primitive. But they were a Caucasian race, and they gave to the world a religious idea which developed into Christianity whose adherents are numerically preponderant in all the countries of the civilized world.

MAYANS AND INCAS

In Mexico and Peru, before the Spaniards came, there existed two highly developed civilizations that were extremely interesting.

The Mayans—who inhabited Yucatan and Central America—had a time machine and a calendar. They could read and write, and their vocabulary contained over 30,000 words. They had an individual architecture. How they moved the great masses of stones used in building their numerous temples, palaces, pyramids and ball

* As Mohammedanism derives from Christianity and indirectly comes from Judaism, the Jews may be said to have originated Mohammedanism too—a religion with nearly a quarter billion followers.

courts is hard to understand. They had artificial reservoirs and paved highways. However, they had no wheeled vehicles to move over it, as the wheel was unknown to them. The Mayans were not a war-like people.*

The Peruvians were a type differing somewhat from the Mayans, but their civilization compared favorably with it. Perhaps their architectural accomplishments were not as great, but they were a gentle and humane people.

The Incas were particularly noted for their social advancement, and the masses of people were well cared for. The government was well organized, and the administrators kept accurate statistics by means of knots tied on strings called "quipus". They established numerous post roads so that communication could be quickly made with any part of the country. Their skilled engineers built great palaces and temples. The production of their workers in metals and ceramics meet with our admiration, and their system of land cultivation was excellent.

The Peruvians were conquered by Pizarro with an "army" of 183 men and Cortez had only 632 men with him in the conquest of Mexico. These daring leaders used diplomacy and the duplicity of the Greeks as well as force of arms. They created intrigues among the natives and played one against the other. Thus with a handful of soldiers—in the name of the Christ—they conquered millions of these simple people, later to enslave and destroy them.

It is astonishing that millions of men—no matter how crude their arms—could not defeat a few hundreds. Surely they must have been weak and without determination! The Aztecs were good fighters, but they were overcome by their own psychology.

JAPANESE

The Japanese civilization is an old one. But it was crude. They borrowed writing from the Chinese, and their literature is slight. Their art was superior, and they excelled in the designing and production of textiles, embroidery and ceramics. Their architecture, however, while striking or artistic insofar as the palaces of the emperor or other public buildings were concerned, was and is prim-

* The Mayans were conquered by the Aztecs who had the most bloodthirsty religion the world has ever seen—they sacrificed 25,000 or 30,000 people a year in their religious rites.

itive. In ancient times and even today their houses are flimsily built of wood, bamboo and paper.

And while the Japanese people are polite and have several of the virtues admired by Westerners, they also have vices that are not admirable. Their recent treatment of prisoners of war shows that they are barbaric at heart, or else that their civilization is permeated by a philosophy from which charity and pity are absent.

Occidental peoples are concerned with the economic improvement of the masses. But the masses of the Japanese people have ever been poor. Even today after the adaptation of modern customs and ideas, their people work long hours and receive little pay, which means that they live on very little food and their possessions are few and modest.

The Japanese civilization did not bring to its people a high standard of living. Its people did not invent or devise ways to improve that standard. Their civilization was built around an intrinsic and egocentric religion,* and around a military feudalism. Their nobility were of the samurai, that is to say, they were hereditary soldiers, and the privilege of bearing arms was restricted to this caste. For nearly a thousand years, the samurai dominated and ruled Japan. The samurai are responsible for the shocking practice of hara kiri—death by disembowelment.

Until Commodore Perry opened Japan to the Western nations, the Japanese rulers forced a complete isolation, and allowed only a few small ships from China to touch at her ports.

Since her contact with the United States and European nations, Japan has adapted many occidental ideas and inventions. The Japanese have developed those inventions and ideas which helped to make them a great military nation. First, they built a fleet; then they created an army; and that they built good fleets and trained good armies cannot be gainsaid. The Japanese people, living in a north temperate zone and a cool climate, have some of the energy and aggressiveness that are exhibited by the Caucasian people of the Western world, but so far they are imitative and not inventive. Their civilization is lacking in most of the qualities that appeal to Westerners.

* The Japanese native religion of Shintoism—"The way of the gods"—offers no moral or ethical instruction. It glorifies their native heroes, and inculcates nature and ancestor worship. There are 14,000 gods and their temples have no priests.

MALAYSIANS

There is a very old civilization in Java and Sumatra. In fact man or his anthropoid ape relatives have been there for a very long time. *Pithecanthropus erectus* was found in Java. It is not claimed that he is the ancestor of man but he certainly came off the same main stem.

Java abounds in temples and ancient architecture. One of the most famous temples in the world is the Boro Bodru, erected about 950 A.D. It contains remarkable ornaments and carvings.

Java itself is the most densely populated country in the world today, there being 831 people to the square mile. Some musicians claim that much of their music is superior to occidental music, but this is disputed. The Malaysian people have developed the art of dancing to a high form.

While the Javanese also have a written language and an ancient literature, it is not extensive and does not show evidence of great development.

The natural resources of Java and Sumatra and the other islands of the Archipelago, known as the Dutch Indies, are extremely great. Under the Dutch the national wealth has been utilized to a certain extent, and new industries such as the planting of rubber plantations were established. The Javanese in thousands of years never developed these resources. They never traveled very far toward what we know as civilization.

In New Guinea live some of the most primitive tribes extant. Head hunters, cannibals and savages still roam the wilds of this undeveloped country.

* * * * *

In order to carry on our comparisons it is now necessary to say something about those races that have failed to produce a civilization in the real sense.

Modern anthropological studies have shown that almost every kind of social custom and belief is found among the numerous primitive tribes scattered throughout the world. Witch craft, magic, totem worship, pantheism, nature worship, animism are the basis of their various religious beliefs.* When it comes to their customs and

* The Golden Bough by Sir John Frazer is the classic study of witchcraft and magic among primitive peoples. It comprises twelve volumes.

habits many volumes would be required to tell about them—some quaint, some sensible, many cruel and harmful and many disgusting. Without going too far apace we might generalize about a few of the races whose civilization we consider inferior to our own.

AMER-INDS OR THE INDIANS OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

The inhabitants of the continents of North and South America are now thought to be branches of the Mongolian race who came to the Americas through Alaska by way of the bridge of islands that crosses the Bering Straits. Some may, however, have been blown across the ocean in their boats.

In Mexico (Yucatan) and Peru there arose a highly specialized form of civilization, but strange to say, the Incas of Peru and the Mayans and Aztecs of Mexico were not known to each other, and they seem to have been different in language and in customs, although the civilizations were much alike in the cruelty of their religious beliefs.

Ranging over the vast continents were other natives less civilized. In all of North America except Mexico, there were few inhabitants. Most of them were very primitive, although the Iroquois tribes in New York state had a fairly stable form of government. Also to be noted were the cliff dwellers in the pueblo country. The number of Indians, or "red men" as they were called in North America, was small—not over 500,000—but the islands of the West Indies were thickly populated. And in San Domingo—the island first settled by the Spaniards—Columbus estimated that there were about two million Indians or Caribs (hence the name Caribbean.) These caribs were inoffensive people except that they were cannibals, which is the meaning of the word "carib". However, in twenty years the Spaniards practically exterminated them in San Domingo.

All Central America was thickly populated with Indians. On the whole, they were an inferior race. The civilizations of the Mayans, the Aztecs and the Peruvians were the highest cultures achieved in the Americas. The vast majority of the natives possessed only primitive cultures.

Today their descendants have not changed very much. There are many millions of Indians in Central and South America, and, although they have survived the efforts of the Spaniards to exterminate them, they are still a simple and elemental people. They rank low in intelligence tests, and while they have come in contact and

lived near some form of European culture for hundreds of years, they have not adopted much or any of it. They made and make no effort to adapt themselves to civilized ways, and today many millions of them throughout Mexico, Central and South America can certainly be described as inferior peoples.

POLYNESIANS

The South Pacific islands are inhabited by Polynesians—a mixture of Malaysians and negroids. Most of them are kind and gentle people with primitive beliefs and customs. From our standpoint, they never had any civilization.

Havelock Ellis in his fascinating book, "The Dance of Life", tells about the people who live on the island of Lifou, one of the Loyalty Islands near New Caledonia. They are a handsome race, with high moral qualities. They are a laughter loving people and even hard workers when necessary, and they are honest, truthful, kind and polite. Every one learns music and studies singing as well as dancing. The Lifouians have a strong love of cleanliness. "The idea of using manure in agricultural operations seems to them disgusting." The Lifonian people are pleasant and almost civilized in their morals and manners, but occasionally they go on a cannibalistic spree. "If a man had 20 or 30 wives and a large family, it would be quite all right if now and then he cooked one of his own children but . . . the child would be cooked whole, wrapped in banana or cocoanut leaves", says Ellis.

When we analyze his panegyric of the people of Lifou, we find that morally they are a fine people—and this offsets many defects and failings—that in the art of dancing they rank high, but there is no civilization from our standpoint. They are at heart savages.

AFRICANS

When it comes to the Negroes or the people of Africa, we find only barbarism and savagery. Some modern writers tell of the wonderful civilizations that existed in Africa a thousand or two thousand years ago. But what is the evidence of these civilizations? We have a few wood carvings and that is all. Some African tribe is supposed to have invented iron. But this hardly seems probable. Or if they did invent it, it was also invented in Europe. That Negroes invented iron is only a theory, because of the fact that the first iron was found in Egypt, also in Chaldaea and in China. Iron was used four thousand years before the birth of Christ. In any

event if Negroes invented iron they never accomplished anything with it. And they did not invent much else. They have never been an inventive race. Says Sir Arthur Keith: "In our brief experience of the world we have never found that Negro or negroid peoples are gifted with inventiveness or have ever manifested a strong desire to improve their material culture." Negroes have never even domesticated their plants or animals. The coffee plant existed in Africa as well as the guinea fowl, but their domestication and cultivation awaited that of other races. They had no written language.

Winwood Reade, who traveled in the heart of Africa sixty years ago, wrote in "The Martyrdom of Man": "Some tribes live only on the fruit of the net and spear, eked out with insects, and berries, and shells. Property is ill defined among them; if a man makes a canoe, the others use it when they please; if he builds a better house than his neighbors, they pull it down."

Lately we have been hearing about the fabulous Kingdom of Benin in West Africa. We are told they were civilized when Europeans were barbarians. But can such a claim be proved? The Benin Negroes worked in brass, made excellent carvings in ivory, and weaved cloth. Their culture was above that of most negro tribes. But their religion required many human sacrifices. The English tried to break up this terrible custom as early as 1863. But it was not until 1897 that the city of Benin was captured, when it was found to be reeking with the bodies of many human sacrifices.

It is hardly necessary to mention some of the other horrible observances of the native tribes of Africa. Aside from cannibalism and infanticide, Negro culture includes customs such as filing the teeth, putting sticks through their noses and lips, scarring themselves, and pressing the heads of infants out of shape. Slavery is still prevalent and other primitive practices such as polygamy and polyandry. Africa is the Dark Continent—the home of black peoples—the synonym for unenlightenment. Culture has not come from the black races of the world.*

* "None of the black races, whether negro or Australian, have shown within the historic time the capacity to develop civilization. They have never passed the boundaries of their own habitats as conquerors, and never exercised the smallest influence over peoples not black. They have never founded a stone city, have never built a ship, have never produced a literature, have never suggested a creed."—*Meredith Townsend*.

AUSTRALIANS

Before the white man colonized Australia, its people were indeed primitive. Some of the native tribes of Australia were about as near to animals as they could get and still be members of the human species. In some tribes adult people could not count beyond four or five and they did not even have a hut or habitation to live in. They had not learned the art of sheltering themselves from the inclement weather. Pottery is a lasting record, and yet says Tylor, "no fragment of pottery has ever been found in Australia, New Zealand, or in the Polynesian Islands." They had no canoes, no bows and arrows, no agriculture. Australoids were the least mentally capable of all the races of men.

In Australia there are other primitive forms of life such as the duck bill, which is both oviparous and mammalian. That is, it lays eggs and when the young are hatched it suckles them from its mammalian glands. From animal to man, Australia affords excellent examples of primitive types. There are 110 species of marsupials. There are also primitive types of flora.

The Australian aborigines are certainly a low type of man—in their looks, in their mentality, in their culture and in their civilization. They have given nothing to the world except the boomerang.

Says Dixon in the "Racial History of Man":

Not only have the Proto-Australoids and Proto-Negroids not been able to reach out and hold any considerable portions of the world outside the tropics, they have had to give ground within their own territory, and half of Africa, the whole of which they seem once to have held, very early passed out of their control. In the great struggle they have almost from the beginning, been losers.

THE CIVILIZATION OF WESTERN NATIONS

To discuss further the accomplishments of those branches of the Caucasian race which, first, created the civilizations of Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia as well as that of Crete, Greece and Rome; then, after the night of the Dark Ages developed the civilization of the Renaissance, is unnecessary. But we might glance at our modern civilization.

Although the twentieth century has brought many improvements in transportation, in communication, in industrial techniques, perhaps the nineteenth century was the greatest in the annals of the human race. The age of Pericles is generally considered to be the

most glorious in recorded history. But the civilization of the Greeks brought too little to too few. The upper classes were educated, and they studied the art of oratory, wrote poetry and patronized fine arts. They developed the drama, which, of course, all could enjoy. But the mass of people were slaves and helots. The average citizen had to struggle to exist. His conveniences were few and life was cruel. The Greeks, however, were great architects, and artists and their sculpture has never been equalled. On the other hand, Greek civilization was marred by terrible vices and by customs which are shocking to people of these times. They were also a tricky and treacherous people.

Rome gave law and order to a barbarian world. The Romans were great builders. Although they too had a fine literature, they were not artistic. They were cruel although a courageous people. It remained for Christianity to bring charity and pity into a world of hardship and struggle.

After the Middle Ages came the Renaissance, the discoveries of the Spanish and the Portuguese, the invention of printing, the Reformation, the rise of industrialism under the aegis of the English, and the increase of wealth. Then there came the glorious literature of the Elizabethan Age and the civilizing influence of Louis XIV's reign in France.

But the nineteenth century saw the beginning of the world's most civilized period. At first the industrial age had brought hardship and suffering in the transition from manufacturing by hand to mass production. But the evils of the factory system, of child labor, and women working in mines, crawling on their knees to haul coal carts, awakened the conscience of enlightened peoples everywhere, and one by one they were done away with.

In a hundred years most of which was covered by the reign of Queen Victoria in England, the world saw the development of what might be called governmental morals or the concern of the state with right and wrong. States should be moral or unmoral, as Machiavelli wrote in his directions for the guidance of a prince, in accordance with their self-interest. But over and beyond the state is the moral order of the universe. And the masses of people in these countries, which are leaders in the progress of civilization, became conscious of the rights and wrongs of people as a whole.

One by one reforms were started which brought about great economic and social changes. And these in turn not only added to

the wealth of the world, but added to its population and brought about better health, better education and undoubtedly greater happiness to large numbers of people.

It is hardly realized today that in the year 1800 a man could be hanged for forgery. According to Sir Basil Thompson in his story of Scotland Yard, there were 200 executions in England for this offense between 1805 and 1818. There were over 200 crimes punishable by hanging. For shooting rabbits at night, for cutting down a fruit tree in an orchard, appearing in disguise in a public road, or for stealing property worth 25c, one could be hanged.

Dr. Johnson tried to save the life of the clergyman, Dobbs, who had embezzled money and was convicted to be hanged, but to no avail and over ten thousand persons witnessed his execution. The fight that Dr. Johnson made against this unjust penalty bore fruit in later years when Cruikshank drew his famous pound note—a protest against hanging for stealing—which was circulated all over England and brought about the repeal of this drastic law.

Then there was the movement for the abolition of slavery. Beginning at the end of the eighteenth century this movement became so strong that the English Government soon abolished slavery in all of its colonies, and in spite of the fact that its merchants and ship owners made a large profit from the trade, they made it unlawful for English ships to carry slaves, and the government sent warships to patrol the coast of Africa to prevent it. In the United States, it took a civil war to bring about the abolition of slavery. But everyone admits now that slavery was wrong morally and bad economically.

The nineteenth century saw the reform of the poor laws in England by which men were prevented from going from one parish to another in search of work, the repeal of the corn laws which placed a tariff on the importation of wheat and worked a hardship on the poor.

Economic reforms were perhaps the principal cause of the advancing civilization. They permitted the amassing of wealth, and the distribution of it among all classes of the population. For six hundred years manufacturing and trade had been hampered by taxes, tariffs and by social theories which favored economically the military and the church. In feudal times workmen banded in guilds for their own protection; manufacturers were joined in cartels and enjoyed monopolies granted by the state. This was the status of

the Merchant Adventurers of London which had a monopoly on the cloth trade in England from the time of Henry III until Queen Elizabeth's time.

At the beginning of her reign, Queen Elizabeth granted monopolies to certain companies and individuals, but in the latter part these monopolies were done away with and opportunity for trading was opened to more people. England led the way in the industrial and financial revolution. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century, however, that most of the economic shackles were removed. And in the nineteenth century under the theory of free trade, England grew great and other western nations along with her.

The nineteenth century was the age of the great scientists. Darwin's theory of evolution lessened the hold of dogmatism on the minds of men. And while there may have been a conflict between religion and science, the final result was to make thinking men more serious and therefore more religious.

In the nineteenth century medicine advanced from medieval quackery to a science. Surgery was developed, anesthesia invented, and bacteria discovered. In 1790 the average age attained was thirty-five years. Today it is sixty-two years.

In the nineteenth century literature flowered in many countries, and in England it was known as the age of the great Victorians.

Progress was made in all the arts and sciences. During the nineteenth century the inventive genius particularly of the Americans brought about a revolution in transportation—railroad and steamship—and in communications—the telegraph and the telephone. The nineteenth century saw the world change from an era of candlelight into one of electricity. But in material wealth and in population, the nineteenth century showed the most remarkable development of all centuries. In the year 1800 the population of the world was estimated at 630,000,000. In 1900 it was approximately 1,550,000,000. This was an increase of nearly two and one-half times.

TABLE SHOWING INCREASE IN WEALTH AND POPULATION
(Based on Information from Encyclopedia Americana)

<i>United States</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Wealth</i>
1800.....	5,308,000	\$ 1,072,000,000
1900.....	75,994,000	88,517,000,000

Increase in population—over 15 times.

Increase in wealth—88 times.

<i>England, Scotland, Wales</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Wealth</i>
1800.....	16,000,000	\$ 8,753,000,000
1900.....	42,000,000	70,000,000,000

Increase in population—over 2½ times.

Increase in wealth—8 times.

<i>France</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Wealth</i>
1815.....	29,500,000	14,200,000,000
1915.....	41,000,000	64,300,000,000

Increase in population—less than 50%.

Increase in wealth—4 times.

<i>Germany</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Wealth</i>
1800.....	20,000,000	10,000,000,000
1914.....	70,000,000	83,300,000,000

Increase in population—3½ times.

Increase in wealth from 1800 to 1900—4½ times.

In the meantime there was a decrease in illiteracy in the leading countries of Europe and the United States. It is difficult to get exact figures but in England the illiteracy decreased from 33.7% for men in 1839 to 5% for men in 1893. For women 49.5% in 1839 to 5.7% for women in 1893. In France the illiteracy declined from 55.2% in 1829 to 5.7% in 1894. Belgium from 51% in 1840 to 14% in 1894. In the United States I could get no accurate figures for the early years except that we know that illiteracy was quite common and by 1900 it had gone down to 5%, in spite of the fact that the population included a great number of Negroes many of whom were illiterate.

The nineteenth century might be said to have come to an end in 1914 when the First Great World War started. Civilization had reached its apex then. While there had been wars, the peace of Vienna had been remarkably successful in preventing for one hundred years a general European war. In all this time there was only one European war of any size, that of Germany against France. This was over quickly and brought about a unified Germany and perhaps a better and more democratic France. A bloody war was fought in the United States but this might be called local. There was also the Russo-Japanese War, which might have been prevented had the old theory of the balance of power been allowed to prevail. That is to say, if England and Germany had supported Russia and threatened Japan.

It would take too much space to list all the accomplishments and achievements of the western nations. In nearly every department of human activity the ancient civilizations and those of China, Japan, Africa and the Americas have been surpassed. The achievements of these other civilizations can be counted almost on the fingers of one hand, but in the Occident, civilization has flowered in a thousand different ways—in the fine arts such as painting, music, sculpture and literature, as well as in the practical arts. The invention of heavy machinery, which does away with drudgery and back-breaking labor, and other machines of mass production, has enabled the western peoples to enjoy a higher standard of living than the world has ever seen before.

Modern European civilization has spread all over the world, helping backward and inferior peoples. A small percentage of those who have absorbed Western ways and ideas—perhaps 1%—are now calling for "equality" and "independence". But what their people need is further help and guidance.

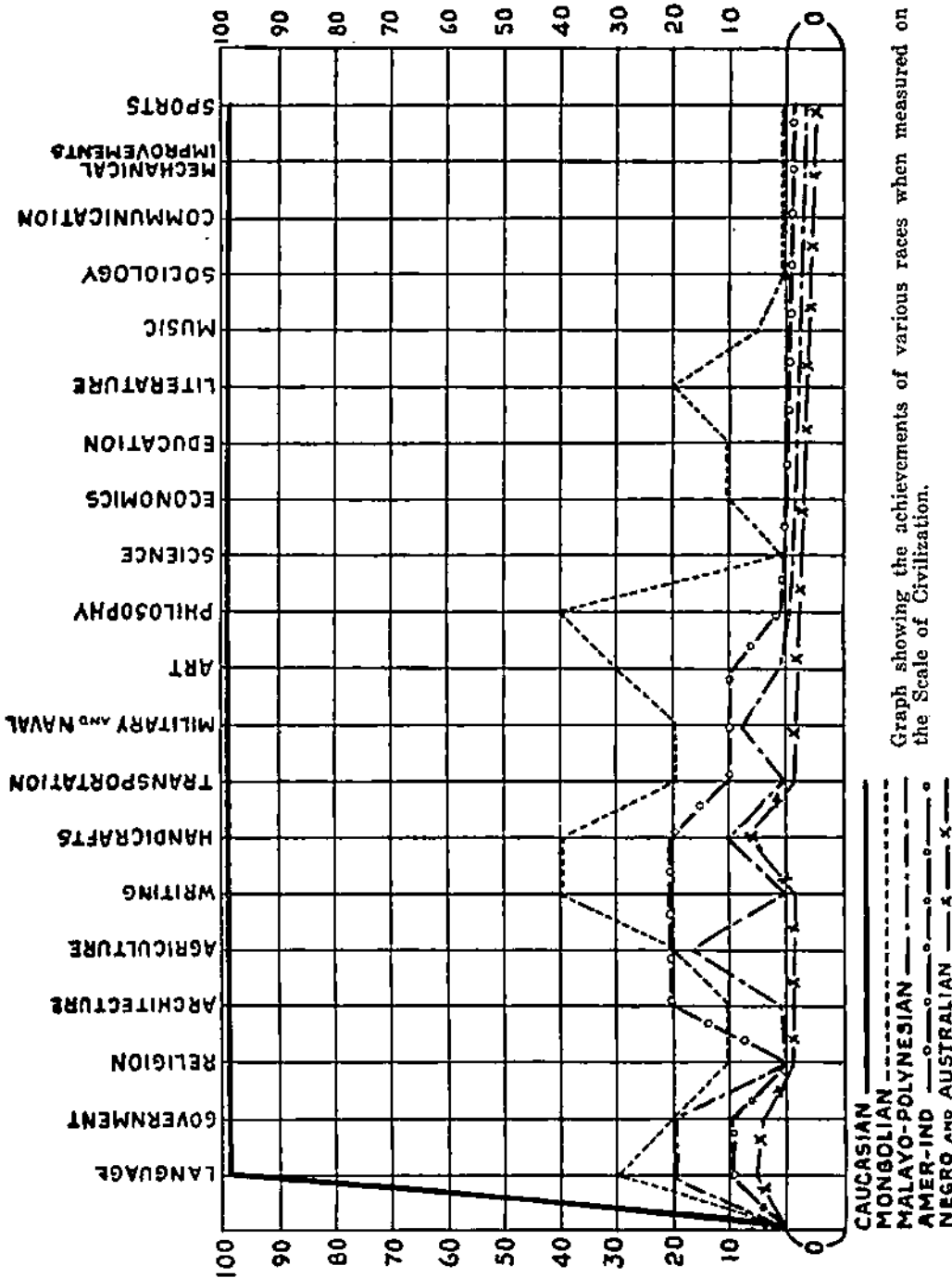
The white race has brought and still brings to the colored peoples of the world capital to develop their resources, up-to-date business methods, improved agriculture, modern transportation, machinery to take away drudgery, and medicine and surgery to relieve their pain and cure their ills. It gives them science, education, music and literature. It promotes democracy and the rights of the individual. It establishes stable governments based on justice and equity. It brings to them a monotheistic religion, with its principles of charity and good will toward men. It introduces the idea of pity to offset the cruelty which is the concomitant of low-grade cultures. The European philosophy of individualism and action is an example to dispirited races and nations; and the idealism of our thinkers, when absorbed by the hundreds of millions of ignorant and backward peoples is the only hope for the eventual ending of war and the perpetuation of peace and prosperity for the whole human race. The despised whites have done more for the world than any other race. They have taken on "the white man's burden". They have recognized their obligations. So-called imperialists and colonizers have carried to the utmost parts of the globe a better social idea and a higher type of civilization.

For example, when the United States took over the Philippines, some of the tribes were head hunters. Most of the inhabitants were gentle barbarians, ignorant and disease stricken. The Americans

improved the sanitation of the cities, opened schools and reduced the illiteracy from 90% to 35%, established industries and brought prosperity to millions of the Filipinos. So successful has our administration of the Philippines been that the populace have changed over from a hostile and sulky attitude to one of loyalty and admiration for the Americans. The Philippines now have their independence. What civilization they enjoy they obtained from the American people.

The Dutch have given the East Netherlands colonies the advantages of a high type of civilization. I have already pointed out how the English have improved conditions in India. As a further evidence of their efforts to ameliorate the condition of that still backward country, the English Government only recently devised ways to help the people of India increase their agricultural production. A plan was formulated which in fifteen years or less will increase food production by one hundred percent. The plan includes additional and improved irrigation, use of fertilizers including artificial manures, land improvement, improved cultivation, better seed farms, and better grading of cattle. The capital investment necessary to put this plan into effect will be around three billion dollars with an additional annual expenditure of sixty million dollars. The English Government was concerned with ending India's food shortage and the starvation and undernourishment that nearly always exists in India.

In the leading countries of the world there are organizations and societies to bring help and aid to peoples of foreign countries. For instance, there are over two million lepers in the British Empire. Most of these are in India and many are in South Africa. There is an organization in London—the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association—which conducts the fight against leprosy. Britain has installed leper farms or colonies for those who have this dread disease where they can be taken care of. There are organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation of New York City, founded by John D. Rockefeller, which has done more to improve medical conditions and raise the health standards of the world than any other organization or group. The Rockefeller Foundation has established medical colleges in China. It is now helping to improve health and sanitation in Central and South America. It has given grants for the study of disease to improve the health and to save the lives of peoples everywhere.



It is true that we have still a long way to go. The people of the world are still underfed, ill clothed and must struggle to survive. Ignorance is prevalent and poverty and crime still exist in highly civilized countries. Universal peace is not yet assured.

But in every department of human endeavor, there are idealists, thinkers and inventors, and planners and practical men who are seeking to improve present conditions and make the world a better place in which to live. Such groups do not exist, generally speaking, in any country of the world, except among the western nations. Perhaps some modern educated Chinese could be included. The efforts to improve social and economic conditions originate in the western nations.

Needless to say, these western nations are Caucasian in their racial composition. It is the white race which possesses—almost alone, it would seem—that restless energy, that striving to improve, that insatiable curiosity, that desire for knowledge, that inventiveness, that love of action which ever creates and advances a civilization.

After the civilizations of the Caucasian nations come that of the Mongolian peoples, then the Malaysians, the American Indians, the African Negroes, and finally that of the aborigines of Australasia.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNFAVORABLE EFFECT OF RACE MIXING
ON VARIOUS NATIONS

THAT nations have retrogressed because their peoples have interbred with others of an inferior stock is probable. Such an assumption is difficult to prove, however, with perhaps one exception. We can only surmise that Rome and Egypt were weakened by the importation and absorption of inferior racial stocks.

About the racial intermixtures of the people of the Orient we know little. We do know that there have been innumerable migrations in which hordes of one race would move into another country, enslave and then merge with the people living there. It is believed that a migration of Caucasian people into central India took place thousands of years ago. At another time Mongolians surged in across the mountains and overran Northern India. Thus, in India we have a mixture of the native races with Caucasians, Mongols, and perhaps some negroids. But it would be difficult for us to prove that India declined in civilization or failed to advance because of this mixture of race. Yet the combining of so many greatly dissimilar stocks into one race probably tended to make the final result inferior. Whether mixed with Negroes or not the crossing of too divergent stocks is fatal to a civilization.

Although their history is fairly well recorded, we cannot likewise say that China has declined or failed as a great world power because of racial intermixture. Such racial fusion that occurred was made up of branches of the same race. This hardly affects the physical or mental qualities of a people. Hence any inferiority displayed by the Chinese can be attributed to that inherent in the Mongolian race itself.

Before discussing the nations and countries whose civilizations today are affected by the interbreeding of superior with inferior peoples, let us glance at Egypt, Rome and Portugal—the last named country being the only one whose decline can be proved to be caused by the admixture of Caucasian with African blood.

Some writers claim that Egypt declined as a civilized country and as a world power when she permitted racial crossings. After the Romans conquered Egypt they did not continue to protect her militarily, and in the course of time races from Arabia as well as

barbaric black races from Africa poured into the country and diluted the blood of her homogeneous people with inferior foreign strains.

One reason the Egyptian civilization lasted as long as it did is that during the time of her greatness the Egyptians kept their blood untainted. Breasted says that on the upper Nile forts were built on each side of the river. No Negroes were allowed to pass except for the purpose of trading. A "directive" recorded about the year 2000 B.C. decreed that no ship of Negroes was "to pass going down stream forever". As long as Egypt could enforce this immigration law her culture and civilization were safe.

Egypt was later invaded by Negroes who intermarried with her slaves and then with the peasantry. Says one writer: "Egypt was destroyed, as Assyria and Rome were later, not by foreign attack but by her own act—race suicide".

One of the causes of the decline of Roman civilization was the amalgamation of the virile stock of ancient Rome with barbaric and often inferior races, particularly with negroid races. Hundreds of reasons have been assigned for the fall of the Roman Empire.

We know that the decline of its agriculture, caused in part by the buying up of all the land by large owners who worked it with slaves, was one of the economic reasons for its ruin. But Rome imported hundreds of thousands of slaves from Africa. These, inter-breeding with the white slaves, and later inter-marrying with Roman people, produced a polyglot race, which lacked the stamina, intelligence and aggressiveness possessed by the citizens of the Republic.

In her last days Rome was rotten morally, economically and militarily. Says Robinson and Breasted in their "History of Europe—Ancient and Medieval":

From the leaders of the barbaric soldier class, after the death of Commodus, the Roman Empire had eighty rulers in ninety years. Most of these so-called emperors were not unlike the revolutionary bandits who have sometimes proclaimed themselves presidents of Mexico.*

The effects of the admixture of two such divergent races as the white and the black are still observable in Southern Italy as well as in Sicily. In these areas African slaves were particularly numer-

* The Equalitarians as well as the Good Neighborians would want this paragraph taken out of the textbook.

ous. They have all been absorbed. The people of Southern Italy and Sicily have dark skins. Undoubtedly they are the descendants of the several races which began to merge with each other two thousand years ago.

The Southern Italians are a gay and joyous people. No one can say that they are negroid, but certain it is that they have some of the characteristics of the Negro race. Many of them are indolent, evince criminal tendencies and are illiterate. They are unprogressive, make begging a profession, and maintain the Mafia or "black hand" cult. It is significant that Southern Italy has produced little of the culture of Italy either in ancient times, at the time of the Renaissance, or in modern times.

Unfortunately too many Italians from Southern Italy were allowed to come into the United States. They do not make the best type of citizen. Court records will show that an undue proportion of our criminals come from these people, and in intelligence tests they rank at the bottom with Negroes and Indians. Now our government recognizes that they are undesirable, and restricts the immigration of the peoples from Southern Italy and Sicily. It must be understood that these statements are generalities, and are not intended to reflect on the many splendid individuals, now good citizens, who have come over from Southern Italy to become industrious, patriotic and loyal Americans.

The merging and inter-marrying of the black and whites of Southern Italy took place from fifteen hundred to two thousand years ago. Some fifty or sixty generations have lived since then. But in Portugal the crossing of blacks and whites occurred only five hundred years ago—or a matter of fifteen generations. Thus its effects are much more apparent. The interbreeding and intermarrying of Portuguese and Negroes is the direct cause of the decline of Portugal as a world power and the failure of her people to hold their place in the cultural advance of modern Europe. It is worthwhile studying Portugal in some detail.

PORTUGAL

The countries of the Iberian peninsula were peopled by the same races and conquered by the same conquerors. Today they are both known as Latin countries. Although some Portuguese writers claim for it an older history, Portugal was a part of Spain until the year 1095. All modern European states are formed by the later

grouping of provinces around one important province or the suzerainty of a powerful feudal lord as a nucleus. In this manner developed both Spain and Portugal.

For three hundred years, or until the beginning of the fifteenth century we hear little of Portugal or of the provinces which made up that country. But in the year 1415 Portugal began to emerge as a maritime nation. She soon became powerful commercially, and later, the greatest colonial power in Europe.

In 1499 Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India, seven years after Columbus reached America. Thus by the irony of things, the Portuguese, sailing south and east, visited India before Columbus and the Spaniards who tried to get there by sailing west. The Spaniards eventually obtained gold in Peru, but the fabled Indian temples with roofs of gold, their eyes never saw, and the pearls, spices and sugar of India their caravels never brought home.

When the Portuguese reached India, they came in touch with a civilization thousands of years old. There they found gorgeous temples, and they visited potentates whose glory rivalled that of the great Khan, and who were resplendent in the kind of jewels that Europe had dreamed about since Marco Polo's time. The ancient Hindu culture had evolved a profound philosophy and possessed an extensive literature, but the teeming millions of India were militarily powerless. Weakened by their philosophy as well as by the caste system and the lack of military spirit, India's people were easily conquered. The Portuguese took India from the "outside"—that is, they did not invade the country, but maintained a naval force to protect their trading vessels and their "factories". By looting the cities of the East, and by her control of importations to Europe Portugal reaped immense wealth.

In eighty years beginning with 1499 the Portuguese acquired a vast overseas empire including Brazil, part of India, the East Indies and parts of Africa.

In the short period of less than one hundred years this little country discovered and took possession of millions of square miles of territory on three continents and their contiguous islands.

The sixteenth century was Portugal's golden age. The wealth of the Indies, both east and west, as well as that resulting from the

sale of Africa's black ivory, poured into her coffers. As if to prove that the arts and sciences are dependent upon economics this same century was Portugal's greatest culturally, for in that century lived her greatest writers, her outstanding architects, scientists and painters. In the sixteenth century the classic literature of Portugal was produced. Like a morning glory she burst into bloom and in a few short hours faded and withered away. Her greatness was short-lived. Wars, plagues, famines, colonization, and racial intermixture destroyed her virility. So weakened did she become that Spanish kings took over and ruled Portugal from 1581 to 1640.

Portugal still possesses colonies in the Far East and off the coast of Africa. Yet as a nation, for three hundred and fifty years she has not been among those who have determined the destinies of the world.

Why did Portugal fail? Why did she decline so rapidly from a world power to become a province of her former rival? There are several reasons, but the most important is the intermixture of her people with Negroes from Africa.

In 1434* a ship load of Negro slaves reached Lisbon. Asurar, a court Scribe, a sort of Director of Public Relations as we would call him today, wrote this description of the first cargo of slaves: "They nevermore tried to fly,† but rather in time forgot all about their own countries They were loyal and obedient servants, without malice after they began to use clothing they were for the most part very fond of display . . ." This description still fits the psychology of the Negro.

More shiploads of Negroes began to arrive. Hundreds of thousands were imported. By 1550 the Negro slaves were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon. They were sent out on the farms to take the places of young men who had joined the army to fight the Moors or the Castillians, or who had sailed out over the seven seas seeking gold and adventure. One writer estimates that

* A recent writer says the first importation of Negroes into Portugal took place in 1433.

† "I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or desire to return to it."—Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836-41.*"

of all those who went to the East not one in ten returned. War, shipwreck, tropical diseases and desertion of underpaid soldiers took a heavy toll from the manpower of Portugal. Because the men were so scarce the women of Portugal mated with the Negro slaves. Even the women of the better classes did not hesitate to marry or to bear them children. And as a consequence many Portuguese people today have quite a sprinkling of Negro blood. One can see in their features negroid characteristics.* It is interesting to note that the Portuguese often have the "sacral spots" peculiar to Negroes and Mongolians. (See Chapter IX.) Says the Encyclopedia Britannica:

While the country was being drained of its best citizens, hordes of slaves were imported to fill the vacancies . . . Manual labor was thus discredited. The peasants sold their farms and emigrated or flocked to the towns; and small holdings were merged into vast estates unscientifically cultivated by slaves and comparable with the "latifundia" which caused so many agrarian evils during the last two centuries of the Roman Republic . . . The Portuguese intermarried freely with their slaves, and this infusion of alien blood profoundly modified the character and physique of the nation. It may be said without exaggeration that the Portuguese of the "age of Discoveries" and the Portuguese of the seventeenth and later centuries were two different races.

Seldom has a people achieved world power and held it for so short a time as did the Portuguese. The Empire of Spain declined also, but for nearly four hundred years she held her immense colonies together. And while Spain was affected by the drain on her manpower, her people in the homeland never committed race suicide by marrying with inferior races. And Spain today, in spite of poverty and ignorance, gives evidence of a vitality that may yet find expression in a finer and greater civilization. But the admixture of African blood with the Caucasian blood of Portugal has put a blight on the inheritance of that people. They have yet to prove that it can be overcome.

Today Portugal is a backward country. Over 60% of her people are illiterate. Although it is populous, more than one third of the country—agricultural lands as well as mineral deposits—are un-

* Dr. Robert E. Park, famous sociologist who recently died, commented on this fact after a visit to Portugal.

developed. From 1902 to 1921 the waste land actually increased from 43.1% to 49.1%. Portugal's railroads are in bad condition and her transportation systems poor. Let us compare Portugal with the United States with respect to the three developments that are essential to a modern civilization.

		Portugal	United States
		1 Mile to	1 Mile to
Railroads (1937)	2143 miles	3481 persons	563 persons
		155 persons	4 persons
		per auto	per auto
Motor Cars (1943)	43,300		
		.98 per hundred	16½ per hundred
		persons	persons
Telephones (1940)	75,803		

Intelligence tests in the United States show a low ranking for the Portuguese. And of those Portuguese in the United States in 1930, 34.7% were illiterate.

To conclude, from her history and from her present condition we must assign Portugal a low position on the scale of modern civilization. And we can only conclude that she has fallen to this low estate because of the deterioration of her people caused by their intermixture with an inferior race.

LATIN AMERICA

We may now consider the effect of racial cross breeding in the countries of Latin America, where there is a three-way mixture of whites—generally Spanish but in Brazil, Portuguese—native races (Indians) and Negroes. Those countries where there were many Negroes and where much interbreeding has taken place compare unfavorably with a country such as Argentine, which was settled mostly by whites and where there is only a small population of mixed breeds.

It is difficult to determine whether the failure of Latin American countries to rise very high in the scale of civilization is due to racial fusion, or to the fact that the natives of these countries, who generally comprise the larger part of the population either as a pure race or as a mixture (mestizo), are an inferior people. In other words, the background or the base for the populations of Central and South America was an inferior one at the start, so that we cannot assert definitely that the introduction of other races and their

cross breeding with them has caused a deterioration in the native races. Perhaps the failure of these countries to become better civilized is not due to race mixing.

But a study of the ethnology of the countries of Latin America will show that the introduction of Negroes did not help to improve racial conditions, nor can the admixture of Spanish and Portuguese with the native races be said to have had a salutary effect.

In most of Latin America today, however, the small percentage of white people, who are generally Spaniards of pure descent, form the aristocracy; and it is they who dominate and "run" these countries.

While calling themselves republics the Latin American nations are not really democracies and they never have been. The vast majority of the inhabitants are ignorant, lazy and indifferent. This leaves governmental affairs in the hands of a few—the rich land owners, the military leaders, or the few educated men from the upper classes. The ruling classes are mostly of the white race—in some instances persons with a slight admixture of Negro or Indian blood rise to the top. Unfortunately members of the aristocracy often do not care whether the lower classes are educated—their illiteracy ranges from 20% to 90%—and they make no effort to raise the standard of living. In Bolivia, for instance, the tin mines are owned by four enormously wealthy men who pay their labor 3 cents per hour.

If the small cliques which govern the countries of Central and South America were to make some effort to elevate the masses from the ignorance and poverty in which they live, they would then act in conformity with modern social thought. They would in the end benefit themselves, since they would have rich and prosperous people to rule over instead of an impoverished and dissatisfied rabble. But progressiveness is not a characteristic of Latin peoples. Although most of these countries are rich in natural resources, they lie undeveloped until foreign capital comes in, and then the investors are accused of exploitation.

The Latin-American peoples have made great advances, particularly during the last few decades. But these civilizations are for the most part still primitive, and the conditions of the masses deplorable.

In each country there is a small group of wealthy persons, who own the wealth and control the government, whose sons and daughters are educated in foreign countries and who are cultured people in the same sense that Europeans are. And in the large cities you will find beautiful opera houses, splendid governmental palaces and modern buildings that give the aspect of civilized life.

But the great majority of their people are ignorant and live in abject poverty. In fact in some countries there are tribes of Indians as wild as they were four hundred years ago when the Spaniards first arrived. One exception to this generality is Argentina, a country predominately Caucasian in its racial strains. But even in Argentina, the most progressive and civilized state in South America, there is today a palace group that is fomenting trouble and changing presidents. Only recently drastic laws have been passed, abrogating the freedom of the press and restricting the liberties of its citizens.* Thus in the most enlightened country of South America the clock of civilization is being turned back.

With the exception of Brazil, the infusion of Negro blood into Mexico, Central and South America is much less than it is generally thought to be. For instance, in all this territory, not including Brazil and the Guianas, in 1860 there were only 260,800 Negroes. This figure does not include the mixed breeds, that is, Negro-whites and Negro-Indians; but even so the figure is surprisingly low. South Americans generally do not, as we do in the United States, term a person with a small amount of Negro blood in his veins a Negro. Hence the figure of 260,800 may represent only one-half or one-third of the number of Negroes in the country according to our standards. In any event, the fact that in Mexico in 1860 out of a total population of seven and one-half million, there were only six or seven thousand Negroes is striking. Mexico never did have many Negroes.

* A dispatch to the N. Y. Times from Buenos Aires (Nov. 29, 1943) tells of the existence of concentration camps in Patagonia to which thousands of prisoners have been sent without trial, and the threat to send there any one caught carrying on propaganda against the Argentine Government.

NEGROES IN MEXICO, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA IN 1860*
(Excluding Brazil and the Guianas)

<i>Date of Census or Estimate</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Negroes</i>
1860 Mexico	7,506,000	7,000
1860 Central America	2,019,000	10,000
1860 Venezuela—2,200,000 whites 600,000 Indians	2,800,000	60,000
1860 New Granada (Colombia)	2,243,000	80,000
1860 Ecuador—1,300,000 whites 200,000 Indians	1,500,000	7,800
1860 Peru	2,865,000	40,000
1862 Chile	1,676,000	1,000
1861 Bolivia—1,742,352 whites from 24M to 700M Indians	2,100,000	5,000
1855 Argentina	1,172,000	25,000
1857 Paraguay	1,337,500	5,000
1860 Uruguay	241,000	20,000
Total	25,459,000	260,800

BRAZIL

Brazil is the one country in South America which has been seriously affected by race mixing. The color line is not drawn there, particularly in the Northern states. In size and population and natural resources Brazil is an empire in itself, and it should be one of the world's most powerful nations. Although not as nearly numerous as the slaves imported from Africa, there was a large enough group of immigrant whites to have produced a civilization that could have rivalled that of the United States.† But because of the

* In 1863 Robert Dale Owen in his study of slavery gathered the figures showing the number of Negroes in the countries listed in the above table. Owen examined over 150 books to get these statistics. The "total" population of Mexico, Central America and Colombia are taken from his book, and the totals of the other countries from the Statesmen's Year Books of 1866 and 1876.

† A writer in the Journal of Negro Education (the famous 1934 edition) hoots at the idea that Brazil is culturally deficient when compared to Europe or the United States. He defines culture as an "adjustment of a people to its environment."

lack of racial pride, the whites in Brazil have interbred with the blacks and native Indians to such an extent that the virility of the resultant peoples was affected.

A country larger than ours—Brazil exceeds the size of the United States by 250,000 square miles, a slice of land almost as large as Texas—with a population about equal to that of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, its natural resources are greater than those of the United States. Brazil is fifteen times the size of France and sixty-three times the size of England.

Brazil has untold natural wealth. Besides her rich agricultural and pasture lands, her forests with 20,000 species of trees—hardwoods and soft, and the finest rubber trees in the world—she has a mineral wealth that is so great that it cannot be estimated. There is one mountain range of iron ore with 70% high grade metal.* In addition to the dozen metals needed for war—tin, copper, bauxite, chromium, manganese, etc.—there is found gold, platinum, silver, diamonds, semi-precious stones, and now oil.

But Brazil ranks far down in the scale of nations. Great Britain with her 47,000,000 people rules an empire upon which the sun never sets. She has a navy that up until the last year or two was the greatest in the world, and possesses as well the world's largest merchant marine. But more important, in government and politics, in industry, in commerce, in science, in invention, in literature, and in the arts, her people are among the world's most civilized. In material wealth England exceeds many of the larger nations, and she is one of the largest investors of capital in other countries.

Brazil with 41,000,000 people—said to be approximately 47,000,000 by a recent Brazilian governmental circular—has very little navy, hardly any merchant marine, and practically no industry. She does not lead in cultural activities. The per capita wealth is low and the standard of living is way under that of the average of European nations. While Brazil has advanced considerably in the last fifty years, yet what she has *not* done must be held against her when we consider her potentialities. She is surely guilty of the sin of omission.

* Caue Peak, Brazil is the "greatest known mass" of hard iron ore in the world. The Minas Geraes region is said to contain 15 billion tons of ore from which high grade steel can be made. This compares with the 1½ billion tons of high grade and 5 to 10 billion tons of low grade ore in the Lake Superior region of the U. S.

Brazil's failure to become one of the leading nations of the world, or even to equal those of Europe and North America is due to the qualities or characteristics inherent in her people.

Now Brazil is an old country. It was settled long before the United States. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its leading city, Bahia, was a great port and ranked in wealth and importance with some of the first cities of Europe.*

Brazil imported millions of Negro slaves, and a continual interbreeding between these slaves and the whites and the Indians took place. The blood of many of the whites was adulterated with that of inferior races. As a result Brazil did not develop her natural resources, did not produce any great art, or literature, or invent machinery to relieve the drudgery, add to the comfort, or raise the standard of living of her people. She did not contribute anything to the progress of civilization.

Brazil was opened up to Europeans before the United States—120 years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock—and how little has she advanced in the course of years! At the time of its conquest the aborigines of Brazil were said to have numbered between four and five million. This was ten times the number of Indians in the United States.† After enslaving and killing off many of these natives, the Portuguese then began to import Negroes. And beginning in 1532 this importation kept up until 1851, or perhaps until the slaves were freed in 1884. Just how many were brought in nobody knows. Estimates range all the way from three million to eighteen million. The last figure seems unreasonable, and the estimate of one of the best authorities, Ramos, may be taken as probably near the correct number, namely, five million. It is known that between 1815 and 1850 about one million Negroes from Angola were sent to Brazil. Robert Dale Owen, who made a study of the subject, in 1860 estimated that fifteen million Negroes were brought to the Americas‡ in 350 years, and probably one-third of these went to Brazil.

* A special study is made of Bahia in Chapter VII.

† In the United States the early settlers bought the land from the Indians, and while they fought with them and took advantage of them, we are now making it good by caring for their descendants who now number *more* than the Indian inhabitants of the United States when the white men came.

‡ Of these 415,000 slaves came into the U. S., and by 1860 they had increased to 4,600,000. Of the remaining 14,500,000 that went to the West Indies, Central and South America in 1860 there were only 7,000,000.

Owen made the following estimate of the population of Brazil in 1860:

Slaves	2,920,000
Free Negroes, and Mulattoes.....	1,280,000
	<hr/>
	4,200,000
Indians	800,000
Whites	2,360,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	7,360,000

After the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil in 1808,* the migration of Europeans to Brazil became extensive, and from 1820 to 1931 the total immigration—not counting slaves—was 4,549,869. Of these there were:

1,492,874 Italians
1,350,027 Portuguese
588,511 Spaniards
200,000 Germans

It is interesting to note that the population of Indians in 1860 was 800,000 or 10.87% of the total. The pamphlet issued by the Information Bureau of the Brazilian Government states that it is now only 400,000, that is, one-half of the Indians have died out or have been absorbed since 1860. But a writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica quotes the Director of Service to Indians in 1937 who said that at that date there were 1,500,000 Indians and that they were increasing.

This tabulation shows how the population of Brazil is divided racially:

	1860 ¹	1872	1890 ²	1939 ³	1940 (unofficial calculation)
White.....	33.42%	38.1%	44.0%	51%	40.3% ⁴
African.....	38.32%	19.7%	14.6%	14%	4.8% ⁵
Mixed Blood....	17.39%	38.3%	32.4%	33%	50.6% ⁶
Indian.....	10.87%	3.9%	9.0%	2%	4.3% ⁷
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.00	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

* They brought 15,000 courtiers and retainers with them.

¹ Estimate of Robert Dale Owen.

² Last official census to include racial categories.

(Continued on Next Page)

Brazil has several large, beautiful cities and there is great wealth even though the majority of its people are poor, and do not have a high standard of living. Here is how Brazil compares with the United States in automobiles, railroads and telephones:

	Brazil	United States
	184,254	
Motor Cars (1943)	222 persons per auto	4 persons per auto
Phones (1940)	290,910 .065 per 100	16½ per 100 persons
Rail Roads (1937)	1 mile to 2242 persons	1 mile to 563 persons
(Brazil with only 19,676 miles of railroad is larger than the United States, which has 233,000 miles of railroad.)		

In 1940 Brazil had only 129,000 miles of highway mostly unsurfaced. In the United States we have 3,065,000 miles of highway of which 1,172,508 are surfaced.

The educational facilities are poor, but are being improved. There are only 39,000 primary schools, 913 high schools and 62 colleges, according to a recent bulletin of the Brazilian Information Bureau of the Government of Brazil. The language spoken in Brazil is Portuguese. In 1920, the illiteracy of the people of Brazil ranged from 38% in the Federal districts to 88% in an interior state. For the entire population over fifteen years old the rate of illiteracy was 64.9%. It is now probably less, although the South American Primer puts it at 65%.

Beginning with the enlightened dictatorship of President Vargas, and under his successors, Brazil is making strides. Social legislation includes minimum wages, maximum hours, prohibition of

(Notes for Table on Preceding Page Continued)

- From the South American Primer.
- Harold Preece in syndicated article in Louisiana Weekly says 40% have Negro blood and probably more.
- Estimate at 2,000,000 in U. S. Tariff Commission's report on foreign trade with Latin America (Part III, Sec. 3).
- Tariff Commission's report says ½ are white.
- Estimated at 1,750,000 as per statement of the Director of Service to Indians.

child labor, sickness and disability insurance with hospitalization, old age pensions and low-cost housing. The government is trying to divide the large land holdings into smaller farms which can be bought on long terms with governmental financial aid. With capital from the United States mines are being opened and industries started, such as the \$60,000,000 steel mill just completed. Agriculture is being diversified. The government concerns itself with public health and has banished yellow fever and malaria from some coast cities with the help of the U. S. Public Health Service and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Someone has said that the Brazilian is the product of three melancholy, inferior and indolent races. But in recent years, there has been a heavy immigration, and many Italians and Germans* have gone into Brazil. Latterly over 200,000 Japanese have come in. In time, if the European immigration continues after the war, the immigrants may outnumber the native Brazilians; and, if they do not interbreed with them, may raise the racial standards of the country.

It would seem that racial mixing in Brazil has been detrimental to the country's racial vitality, and it has been the chief reason why Brazil has been backward in its culture and its civilization.

ARGENTINA

Argentina (13,518,000) has the largest population in South America with the exception of Brazil. Although they have been pro-Axis in the present World War, and we do not like them for it, yet it is an example of their independence and it is proof that the Argentines are a strong and determined people. They are mostly Caucasians. In 1914 there were only 15,000 Indians and 500 Negroes. Argentina has beautiful cities, and it is probably the most civilized country in South America, although the illiteracy rate is 25%.

BOLIVIA

Bolivia, with a population of 3,500,000, is one of the most backward countries of the world. According to R. J. Urruela, well-known writer on Latin-American countries, these people live on frozen potatoes and chew cocoa to dull their hunger. Only 80,000 can read and write. Bolivia has been exploited terribly. One mountain alone has produced over three billion dollars' worth of silver

* A recent writer, John Gunther, estimates their number at 800,000.

and today the tin mines worth other billions are owned by outsiders. The country has had continued revolutions and up to the year 1900, there were sixty of these unpleasant affairs in seventy-four years in which six presidents were killed. Even in the last ten years Bolivia has had six different presidents. The miners in Bolivia earn thirty cents a day. The people die like flies. The population is composed of European whites—about 15% of the total—and Indians and a mixture of the two. There are very few Negroes in Bolivia.

CHILE

The population of Chile is around five million. The number of Negroes imported into Chile was comparatively small. The population is made up of Europeans and Indians and a mixture of these races. Chile has been a backward country with an illiteracy rate of 55%, but it is now progressive and there are several beautiful cities.

COLOMBIA

Colombia, formerly New Granada, was, until Argentina surpassed it, the most populous country in South America after Brazil. Including Panama the population is now around ten million. Quite a number of Negroes were imported into Colombia. But the population is mostly a mixture of whites and Indians—20% white, 5% Indian, 40% mestizos (white and Indian mixture), 35% Negroes and their mixtures with other races. Colombia was settled early by the Spaniards. Today its people are among the most progressive in South America. But the illiterates number 55%.

ECUADOR

The population of Ecuador is 3,200,000 but very few of these are pure white—about 10%. Most of the population are mixed blood and Indians, and are 75% illiterate. Negroes do not enter very much into the population makeup. The Indians live in great poverty. It has had twelve presidents in the last ten years.

PARAGUAY

Paraguay, with a population of one million, does not have many Negroes. The majority of the inhabitants of Paraguay are of Indian blood and there are very few white people. Says a writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica: "Civilization has not made much progress, and the habits of the people are more primitive than those of the advanced neighboring republics. As a general rule the Para-

guayans are indolent, especially the men." A 70% illiteracy prevails.

PERU

There are seven million people in Peru of whom 52% are Indians; 30% mestizos; 10% Asiatics, Negro-Indians; 6% pure Negroes; and 2% Caucasians. As will be seen the Negroes have not influenced the racial mixtures in Peru very much. Peru has the oldest university in the Western World. It was one of the few countries in which the Spaniards introduced educational facilities. Lima is quite a cultural center, and was probably the most cultured city in all Latin-America for the first two hundred years of Spanish occupation. Even today its aristocrats are among the most polished and cultured in the world. In spite of this Peru is a backward country, mostly because the Indians have not absorbed the education or civilizing influence and because of the interracial breeding. 75% of the population is illiterate. It is hard to realize that Peru contained eight million Indians in 1575. The Spaniards exterminated them in a wholesale manner.

URUGUAY

Uruguay (population 2,146,000) is the smallest republic in South America, but it is likewise nearly all Caucasian. It has fine buildings, schools and roads and its people are intelligent and progressive. Its rate of illiteracy is only 20%—the lowest in South America.

VENEZUELA

In Venezuela with 3,500,000 people there is a large mixture of African blood. 10% of the people are white, 70% mixed—Indians, Negroes and whites—and 20% Negroes and Indians and foreigners. One authority estimates that the population is more mixed than in any other South American country. Venezuela, like other South American countries, has a high illiteracy rate—almost 90%—and a low standard of living. It has had 52 revolutions in one hundred years.

CENTRAL AMERICA

It is hardly necessary to discuss separately the six Central American Republics. Their total population (1940) is 8,230,420, the largest country being Guatemala with 3,384,000. The people of these countries are mixed. Some Negroes were imported into Central America. But the number was comparatively small. There

were only 10,000 pure Negroes in all Central America in 1860 out of a total population of two million, as estimated by Owen. At that time, however, there were only 100,000 whites. Most of the people are descendants of Indians and Aztecs. It is needless to say that these countries are backward. Revolutions are frequent and they have many changes of government.* But those in power try to stay there. Today four of the Central American presidents are in office because they have changed their nations' constitutions to lengthen their terms and the opposition has been forced underground.† Like most countries of the world, however, the Central Americans are now showing some progress, and the United States through money grants, in addition to the investment of private capital, is helping to raise the standard of living.

MEXICO

Very few Negroes were imported into Mexico. In 1900 the whites numbered 19% of the population, Indians 38%, and the mixed bloods 43%. But the mixed bloods were mostly Spaniards and Indians with very little admixture with Negroes. The population is now about twenty million. The Spanish element is large, but the Mexicans generally are descendants of the native Indians. There were until recently fifty-one distinct Indian languages and sixty-nine dialects. A study of the various tribes of Indians in Mexico would be very interesting. Most of these people are innocuous and ineffectual, but there are several tribes who occupy the southern slopes of the central plateau who are energetic peoples and who were never subdued by the Aztecs. They are recovering first from Spanish maladministration and mistreatment, and they may in the years to come furnish the blood that will give the Mexican people the vitality that will carry them on to a better civilization.

* See the Congressional Record of February 15, 1944. In the same issue a Honduran is quoted as saying: "Not long ago I was in New York. I watched your mothers looking at the statue of the 'four freedoms' and drying their tears of pride and sorrow. I felt sorry for them, for I knew the folly of the whole thing. Why the 'four freedoms' is a myth. We have presidents in Central America who shoot their opponents, jail those who disagree with them and hold innocent relatives as hostages. Your good-neighbor policy has brought us the worst dictatorship we've ever had."

† "That the history of the Central American republics has been largely a record of civil war, maladministration and financial dishonesty is perhaps due in part to racial inferiority."—*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Ed.

The illiteracy rate is 60%. The national income is \$36 per capita, and the death rate is the second highest in the world.

The Spanish influence has dominated Mexico since its conquest by Cortez. The Spaniards killed off millions of Aztecs and treated those that remained with great cruelty and oppressed them throughout the period that they controlled Mexico. There have been revolutions and bloodshed and continual disturbances until the last few years.

Mexico is a country of vast natural resources and with the proper development their people should be very rich. Interbreeding of the Spaniards with the Indians has produced half breeds that are inferior to the pure Spanish but we can't say that they are superior to the pure Indians. This perhaps has been one of the reasons for Mexico's failure to advance.

CUBA

Cuba is an example of the bad effects of miscegenation and race mixture on a people. Although the whites number about 65% of the population, the other 35% are Negro or mixed blood. There is practically no color line in Cuba. But the Cubans have been under the protection of the United States and since we have subsidized them in their sugar industry, the country has at times been prosperous. In 1899 the United States "took over" and introduced sanitary measures. The population has increased from 1,500,000 at that time to over four million. But the Cuban people are not progressive, and in keeping with all Latin-Americans "manana" is the favorite word.

WEST INDIES

The islands of the West Indies contain a large Negro and mixed population, greatly outnumbering the whites. While these islands—Jamaica, Puerto Rico, etc.—are agriculturally rich, they have not added to the culture or the general well being of the world at large.

* * * *

As a concluding thought, it might be pointed out that if the Spaniards when they settled in these various Latin-American countries had retained their racial solidarity and had not "mixed" with the native races, it is possible that they would have developed better civilizations in each country. In the first place, more Europeans would have considered it desirable to migrate to these countries, and the Caucasian population would have increased faster. Then again

there would have been a large enough group of whites to establish a European culture as did the English Colonists in the United States.

Unfortunately, the Spaniards were indifferent colonizers. They did not go to the colonies as the English migrated to the United States with the idea of living there permanently. Many were adventurers seeking gold and quick fortunes. They had no interest in developing the countries or helping the natives. They often returned to the homeland leaving behind half-breed progenies. Or they mated with the native women—sometimes in legal marriage but generally in concubinage. For this reason the whole of Latin-America has attained only a low level of culture. The few civilized Caucasians were swamped by the great mass of natives. They were "diluted" so to speak.

In North America few whites married Indians. They drove them out—always to the West. In South America, the Spaniards and Portuguese killed off millions of the natives, but married and interbred with those remaining. In doing so they committed a crime against their race, and Latin-America is paying the penalty today. If the Spaniards had not married with the natives their colonies might have developed into progressive and civilized states.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAILURE OF CIVILIZATION TO SHOW PROGRESS
IN THE COUNTRIES WHICH NEGROES CONTROL.

IF we do not count the countries or political divisions in Africa where Negro tribes conduct their tribal affairs under the general direction of Europeans, who are responsible for law and order, there are only two nations in the whole world that are peopled by Negroes and governed entirely by that race. One is Haiti and the other is Liberia.* Both are republics in form, and for a hundred and forty years in Haiti and one hundred years in Liberia, their peoples have presumably elected or chosen the heads of their respective governments. Let us see what progress the Negro race has made in these two countries.

* Ethiopia (Abyssinia) is not a Negro country, although the word is synonymous for a black skin. Its people are mixed, partly Jewish, Arabic and Negroid. When Selassie wanted the support of the Negroes in the United States his ambassador stated that Ethiopia was a Negro nation. But he himself claims to be a direct descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, hence of Semitic descent. Some of the present day Ethiopians are light-skinned with blue eyes. Most of them are dark skinned, but not all have negroid features. If, however, Ethiopia is to be classed as a Nation of Negroes, its people have made a very poor showing when measured against our scale of civilization. Addis Abbaba, the capital, according to the war correspondents who visited there, was hardly more substantially built than some of the villages of the interior of Africa. Van Paassen in "Days of Our Years" gives a horrible picture of Ethiopia, and his last scene is that of boy slaves, marching in manacled file, trailing blood from their mutilations as they were being led out of Ethiopia to be sold to Turkish or Arabic owners of harems.

According to Prof. Norman Bentwich in a statement to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protective Society of London in August, 1944, Ethiopia is still having difficulty with the problem of slavery. One of the Emperor's first acts upon his return was a decree abolishing slavery, but the Ethiopians are hard to break of this habit, and last year 150 people were tried for the crime, several of whom were executed. The crime of murder is still rife, and sometimes the new high court which the Emperor has founded has had to conduct ten or twelve murder cases at a sitting. The Emperor, Haile Selassie, is trying to educate and enlighten his people. Elementary and secondary schools for boys and girls have been opened, as well as a technical arts and craft school.

HAITI

The Republic of Haiti with an area of 10,000 square miles occupies about one-third of the Island of Haiti. Discovered by Columbus on his first voyage, it is wonderfully rich. Columbus loved Haiti and his dying request was that he be buried there.

He called it *Espanola* ("Little Spain") and wrote: "The mountains and hills and plains, and fields, and the soil are so beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of all sorts, for building towns and villages. *Espanola* is a marvel."*

When Columbus landed on Haiti December 6, 1492, he estimated that there were two million Indians on the Island. Although he personally could have been only partly responsible, it is to the shame of the Spaniards that in twenty years all these Indians were practically exterminated. The Spaniards then began to import Negro slaves from Africa to meet their man-power requirements.

The history of Haiti is interesting as well as romantic, not to say hectic. For one hundred years after its discovery every expedition organized to colonize or explore the countries of the new world was based on the Island of Haiti. It was later the scene of the battle of the Buccaneers. Part of the Island was captured by the English, who in 1697 ceded it to the French, the Spanish having always owned the Eastern two-thirds of its area. The French colony is now Haiti and the Spanish, the Dominican Republic. The Massacre River—ominous name—divides Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and the striking contrast between the two countries begins at the frontier. French is spoken on one side and Spanish on the other. Haiti's culture has declined when compared to that of Santo Domingo. It might be noted that they belonged to cultured and civilized European states, and that both colonies at one time were wealthy and prosperous. Today they both have shed their former prosperity, and the two countries are struggling to keep their populations from starving.

The French developed the part of the island, which they occupied and called St. Dominique, to a high degree of prosperity; but when the Revolution broke out in 1789 the mulattoes in St. Dom-

* Columbus established several settlements including the capital of San Domingo which is the oldest city in America founded by Europeans. Off the northwest coast of Haiti the Santa Maria, the flag ship of Columbus, was wrecked on Christmas Eve 1492 and he landed at the Mole St. Nicholas. The anchor of the Santa Maria is in the National Palace at Port-au-Prince.

inque demanded their civil rights. These were granted them by the National Convention in 1791. The whites on the Island objected violently, and resorted to harsh measures to retain their position of dominance. In the same year the slaves rebelled. The mulattoes joined them, and for several years there was much bloodshed accompanied by terrible cruelties. This insurrection of the blacks and mulattoes produced a remarkable military genius, Toussaint l'Overture, a Negro of whom his race has ever since been proud.* The revolt, however, destroyed property, killed or drove out the best citizens, and ruined the economy of the country. Haiti became an out and out Negro nation.

One would think that after Haiti had won its independence, the Haitians might have found inspiration from the civilized French, but such is not the case. Having thrown off the French rule, the history of Haiti is a history of bloodshed, cruelty and savagery which was not interrupted until the United States Marines landed there to preserve order in 1915.† From 1804 to 1915 there were twenty-six rulers—two emperors, a king, and twenty-three presidents. (One committed suicide, four were killed, five died while in office, and fifteen were exiled.) From 1910 to 1915 there were seven presidents. The Americans left August 14, 1934, and during their occupancy Haiti's affairs were straightened out. Much progress was made toward making the country civilized.

But Haiti still has a long way to go. In the first place, it is not a Republic in the ordinary sense—the president, Elie Lescot, is practically a dictator.‡ In April 1944 the Haitian National Assembly amended the constitution so that President Lescot could stand for re-election, and he was subsequently re-elected for a six-year term. In June 1944 there was an attempted revolt led by army officers, and at least seven were summarily executed. In keeping

* Some have claimed that Toussaint was a pure Negro but it is believed by most historians that he was part white. In any event he fought for his people and their rights. He was unjustly put to death in France.

† Roi Ottley in "New World A-Coming" says that Harlem Negroes are "intrigued by Haiti's revolutionary tradition". Writers and artists visit Haiti presumably to see how it is done.

‡ When President Lescot visited the United States in 1941, the Marine Band, after playing at several official receptions, was sent to the railroad station to give him a farewell salute. The conductor, a Southerner, would not lead the band for the occasion, but he instructed them what to play. The President of Haiti entered the train to the tune of "Bye, Bye, Blackbird".

with the practice of dictators, the Haitian government maintains a strict censorship, and little has been learned about this revolt.

Haiti is a backward, unprogressive country. 85% of the people are illiterate. Superstition is rife and voodoo worship and other African religions survive. The country is still poverty stricken.

Captain John Houston Craige of the U. S. Marine Corps gives this picture of Haiti when he first visited it in 1914:*

Beggars sat at every corner and a throng followed at our heels. Blind men and men with patched eyes, men and women with withered limbs and limbs that were swollen to enormous size by tropical elephantiasis, monsters of all sorts with deformities surpassing the imagination and the pathology of more temperate climes. All of them of indescribable inky jet.

In this same article Captain Craige quotes a British lawyer, who, speaking of the Revolution which had just occurred when the Captain arrived, said:

This is the fifth time that this has happened in my short residence here. It is a great nuisance. Revolution, and all that sort of thing. Paralyzes business. These people have absolutely no conception of law and order. No magna carta, no Bill of Rights. Suffrage a ghastly sham. Trial by jury a joke. Presidents arrive one day and are exiled or assassinated the next. Only one ruler of this country has ever finished his term and got out alive and in peace. The rest were murdered, died mysteriously, took their own lives, were driven into exile. What a country for this civilized 20th century! Upsetting to the whole Anglo-Saxon scheme of life.

During its exciting history Haiti produced another remarkable Negro, Henri Christophe. Born in 1760 Christophe was a barefoot slave boy who became King of Haiti, as King Henry I, and reigned from 1810 to 1820. He learned the trade of war under Toussaint l'Overture. He was despotic and cruel but honest. King Christophe likewise possessed vision. He not only wanted to make his country great, but he wanted to keep European nations off his shores, so he builded one of the most remarkable structures of the western hemisphere. Known as the "Citadel", this almost impregnable fortress, containing a half million tons of material, was erected on a mountain top. It is said that in its construction 10,000 men were continuously employed, and that 20,000 died of hardship and exhaustion. This is almost equal to the achievement of King

* In the National Geographic Magazine of Oct., 1934.

Cheops who employed 100,000 men for twenty years in building the great pyramid.

The *Citadel* was an enormous fortress that could accommodate 10,000 troops. The heaviest cannon known at that time were installed. Engineers today marvel that these heavy guns were dragged to the top of the mountain by man power alone. Capt. Craige tells how King Christophe assigned 100 men the job of bringing up one of these big guns in a day.

At noon while inspecting the work he noted that they had made little progress. A delegation waited on the King. "Sire", said their spokesmen, "the task you have given us is beyond our strength, we cannot possibly move this heavy cannon the distance you have required of us."

"That is too bad", replied the King. "I am very sorry. What I have to do grieves me immensely, but the King's word is sacred. I have said that you must take this gun to the top of the mountain, and I am sure you can do so. If you do not think so, I must find some way to stimulate you, I think I can find a way." Saying this the King ordered his executioners to select 50 of the 100 men and put them to death. The remaining 50 took the cannon to the top of the mountain and placed it in position well ahead of the scheduled time.*

Besides the *Citadel* Christophe built a palace, "Sans Souci", in the mountains occupying ten acres with its grounds, and containing a private theatre. It rivalled the palace of the King of Prussia, and was magnificently furnished. Christophe maintained a court and a nobility of his own creating—among whom were the Count of Limonade and the Duke of Marmalade.

Christophe was brutal, but he tried to help his country. He made the people work, he stabilized the currency, and earned for himself and Haiti the respect of Europeans.

A painting of Christophe (Henry I) is in the Government Palace at Port-au-Prince. To show that Christophe had imagination he committed suicide by shooting himself with a golden bullet when paralysis was creeping up his body and a revolution had broken out—only a bullet made of gold could or should end the life of a demi-god.

The population of Haiti is estimated at three millions of whom 90% are Negroes and 10% mulattoes. The French Government

once made a list of sixty various shadings or groupings of people. There are only about 1500 white foreigners living in Haiti. Haiti is the only country of the western hemisphere where French is the official language, but most of the people speak an Africo-French patois.

Haiti is a land of superstition and voo-dooism. Seabrook writing in 1929 tells of blood sacrifices in the practice of Haitian voo-doo rites. African religions still survive, although the people are nominally Catholic. They still have a passion for dancing weird Congo dances to the accompaniment of the tom tom.

In 1942 the illiteracy was about 85%, and in a population of over three million there were only 1060 schools with 1190 teachers and an enrollment of 90,000 pupils, most of whom do not attend regularly.

Compared to the United States Haiti has:

	Haiti	United States
1250 Automobiles (1943)	1234 persons per auto	4 persons per auto
2002 Telephones (1940)	.066 per 100	16½ per 100
176 Miles of Railroads (1937) (narrow gauge)	1-17,045	1-563

There are only 1500 miles of highway.

Negroes have been in control of Haiti for about one hundred and fifty years. They have managed their own affairs without interference from other countries. They are the first example of a state peopled and governed on a constitutional model by Negroes. They have signally failed in establishing and maintaining a stable and efficient government, or improving the condition of their people. Says the *Encyclopedia Britannica*:

The Haitians seem to possess everything that a progressive and civilized nation could desire, but corruption is spread from every portion and branch of the Government. Justice is venal and the police are brutal and inefficient. The Island is one of the most fertile in the world, and if it had an enlightened and stable government, and an energetic people and a little capital, its agricultural possibilities would seem to be endless The Negroes are a kindly hospitable people but ignorant and lazy . . . Marriage is neither frequent nor legally prescribed In the interior polygamy is frequent. On the whole it must be owned that, after a century of independence and self-government, the Haitian people have made no progress, if they have not actually shown signs of retrogression.

* Captain John Houston Craige, U. S. Marine Corps, in the *National Geographic Magazine*, Oct., 1934.

As this was written one-third of a century ago, there have been some changes for the better, but the country is still backward and its President is still a dictator. Some have stated that he has shown undue cruelties in dealing with his people.

It would seem that the Negro race has signally failed in Haiti to show that it has the qualities necessary to govern successfully or to advance in civilization.

* * * *

LIBERIA

Nothing shows their political inadequacy or proves the incapacity of Negroes to develop a successful civilization better than the history of Liberia.

Over one hundred and twenty-five years ago the Colony of Liberia was founded for freed slaves, whom it was felt were denied opportunity in the United States. In 1821 the American Colonization Society started sending over Negroes. Although it seemed a good idea—and seems so even now—very few Negroes ever cared to leave America, where they say they are oppressed and deprived of their privileges, to settle in a land where they would not have to hew the white man's wood or carry his water, or feel inferior to him.

Owen says in his *Study of Slavery*: "The State of Kentucky appropriated \$5000.00 a year for several years to aid the Colonization Society in sending off free blacks, but they never got more than two to apply."

Most of the American Negroes who went to Liberia emigrated during the first half of the nineteenth century.* Only two or three thousand have gone to Liberia since 1860.

Liberia, 45,000 square miles in area, has a coast line of 300 miles extending inland 75 to 150 miles. The coastal belt is about 20 miles in extent and the country back of it is a vast forest. The tropical forests contain over ten million rubber trees as well as trees with valuable oil nuts. The soil is extremely fertile; and, energetically and scientifically cultivated, it could be made to produce great agricultural wealth. Liberia is well watered with many rivers. It is also mountainous, some of the mountains attaining a height of 6,000 feet.

* John McDonogh of New Orleans freed all of his slaves who would agree to go to Liberia. 80 were sent in 1842 and 43 were sent over in 1858.

But instead of Liberia becoming a thriving agricultural community it has actually retrograded in that respect. Today one finds many districts where the land has been cleared and cultivated and then abandoned. It has relapsed into shrub and jungle and is gradually returning to the condition of primeval forest.

The population of Liberia in 1942 was 1,500,000. That part of the population which is of American descent now numbers 20,000. There are about 40,000 Christianized Negroes. Many indigenous races, living in the forest belt forty miles beyond the coast line in 1910, still practiced cannibalism. Among some of them the women go quite naked. Of the total population only about 100,000 might be said to be civilized.

Liberia is a republic and is governed entirely by Negroes, in fact its constitution provides that the electors must be of Negro blood and owners of land.

What excuse, then, have the Liberians for their slow progress? A rich and well-favored country under the spur of colonization has shown no development and has remained very much as it was thousands of years ago. Think what would have happened if a group of white people had settled there! They would have cleared the land, cultivated the soil, built railroads and turned it into a flourishing and happy colony. The inhabitants cannot blame the climate; for in the highlands it is equable. The people are not, as in other parts of central Africa, affected by tropical diseases that militate against their health and energy.

The colonization of Liberia was undertaken by American colonization societies with the idea of giving the Negroes a chance to show what they could do. The destiny of the country has been directed by the American Negroes who settled there and their descendants, but so far the colonization scheme might be said to be a failure. The American Negro colonists have not been able to give to the natives the necessary inspiration, or to educate them, or to transform them into the kind of people who in the same period of time developed the United States into a rich and successful country. They have not been able to induce others of their race to migrate to this country of the blacks. In fact Liberia today is nearly as primitive as it was over a century and a quarter ago, when the first settlement was made at Monrovia.

As we know, it is the industry, thrift and enterprise of the individual citizen that makes a country great. In Liberia some of the

American Negroes who went there tried the American idea, but gradually the American Liberians got tired of trying and sought to become office holders. 90% of the government receipts are consumed in salaries. Said Rennie Smith, a member of the British Parliament, in 1931: "The public finances, if one may dignify the account-keeping of Liberia by such an expression, are in European eyes a cesspool of corruption. Indeed an American who recently paid a visit there has described Liberia as a people attempting to keep themselves from starving to death. Much of their food even has to be imported from Europe and America. . . . The trade per capita is much the lowest among the territories on the African continent."*

Of the educational facilities Mr. Smith said: "In the 55 government schools there were in 1924 less than two thousand children. Their schooling was restricted to three grades, and it is doubtful if it can be dignified by the word education."

The worst charge that can be made against Liberia is that slavery still prevails there. In June 1929 the report of the International Commission of Inquiry stated that "reports bearing reliable evidence of authenticity which definitely indicate that existing conditions incident to the so-called 'export' of labor from Liberia to Fernando Po have resulted in the development of a system which seems hardly distinguishable from organized slave trade. . . ."

The League of Nations appointed a commission to investigate this matter and the commission reported that: "Intertribal domestic slavery was found to exist along with *pawning*, which is recognized in the social economy of the Republic. *Pawning* is an arrangement by which in return for money a human being, usually a child relative, may be given in servitude for an indefinite period without compensation to the person held and without privilege."

Just as Negro slave owners in the United States, Brazil and the West Indies used to treat their slaves more harshly than white owners, so the Negro rulers of Liberia, established in the name of Liberty, have imposed upon their weaker and more ignorant fellow citizens and at this late date are selling them into virtual slavery!

The history of Liberia is a striking illustration of the lack of aggressiveness and initiative of the Negro race. Throughout the years Liberia has received the moral support of, first, the Aboli-

* In an article in Current History, August 1931.

tionists, and later on of many white liberal leaders and publicists of the United States. If the Liberians had so desired, or if they had shown a sincere effort to develop their country and to educate their people, they could have obtained financial aid not only from members of their own race but from many white people in the United States.

When Booker T. Washington opened his school in Tuskegee it seemed a forlorn and hopeless undertaking. But by persistence and determination in spite of discouragements, he founded a great school, and lived to see it become an institution with world wide influence. This practical trade school widened the opportunities for Negroes, and is one of the most amazing and effective institutions of learning in the country today. Washington won the respect and admiration of the Southern people, and attracted the attention of philanthropists in the North, who contributed large sums to carry on the work.

What a pity that some Liberian did not rise to the same heights! Just think what he could have done for his country, and for the millions of natives who need schools and school teachers to lead them out of their condition of semi-savagery to that of civilization!

And what about some of the "saviors" of the race in this country? Why will not a board of missionaries—economic, educational, medical and business missionaries—leave the United States and devote their lives to helping the Liberians prove that the Negro race is as good as the white? Poor old Garvey had the right idea, but all he got was ridicule from the sophisticated members of his race.

Edward J. Barclay, elected in May 1931, was President of Liberia until 1944. President Roosevelt stopped by to see him on his recent trip to Africa, and President Barclay a few weeks later returned this visit and was entertained at the White House.

In January 1944 William U. S. Tubman took office as Liberia's seventeenth president. Tubman was counsel for V. P. Yancey accused by the League of Nations Commission of "pawning".

In 1942 Liberia had one hundred schools and two colleges in Monrovia. Compared with the United States Liberia has:

	Liberia	United States
269 Motor Cars (1943)	5576 persons per	4 persons per auto
No Phones (1943)	auto	16½ per 100 persons
No Railroads (1937)		1 mile to 563 persons

There were only 180 miles of motor road in 1942 over which only light traffic could go.

The history of Liberia is the best proof of the incompetence and the unprogressiveness of the Negro race. It is a country that has been run by Negroes for over one hundred and twenty-five years without interference by white men, and the Negroes have done nothing to improve their condition or to show that they are capable of developing a Negro civilization.

* * * * *

Having shown what the Negro race has accomplished or failed to accomplish in the only two countries where they control the governments, it might be well to study some of the countries where Negroes are numerous and where they exert some social and economic pressure.

It is beyond the purpose of this book to describe all of the countries of the World where the Negro population is large. There are, of course, many provinces, cities and towns that are populated mostly by Negroes or negroid peoples. This is particularly true of certain parts of Africa where in the past tribes and confederations of tribes were governed with some degree of political sagacity. It is not possible to discuss here these nations, if such they might be called. We know that they did not achieve a highly perfected type of government. After glancing at Nigeria, a quick resumé of the Negroes activity in the United States and in Brazil might be illuminating.

NIGERIA AND IBADAN

The Continent of Africa has been "divided up" by European nations, and sections of it not colonies are "protectorates", that is, under the mandated control of Europeans. The only exceptions are Liberia, which I have just told about, and Ethiopia, which is an independent nation.

There are in Western tropical Africa, where most of the Negro slaves imported into the Americas came from, such as French West Africa, the Gold Coast, West Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, Angola and particularly Nigeria, a large number of aggregations of negroid peoples living in settlements which might be called cities.

Nigeria is part a British colony and part a protectorate. In 1939 its population was estimated at 20,643,000. Its inhabitants are typical Negroes.

In this land was the famous Kingdom of Benin, whose people were pagans and savages. In fact, until 1910 cannibalism, human sacrifices and other revolting practices were common. They were gradually stamped out by the British Government. But "trial by ordeal" and domestic slavery are still among the recognized institutions.

Nigeria has twenty large cities and among them is Ibadan, which is said to be the largest Negro city in the world. Ibadan is 123 miles from the Gulf of Lagos and northeast of Lagos, the leading port and the capital. In 1910 the population of Ibadan was estimated at 150,000, but a recent estimate (1942) places it at 250,000. Perhaps 200,000 would be nearer since the latest population estimates for Nigeria show an increase of 33-1/3% over 1910. Ibadan is enclosed by mud walls which have a circuit of 18 miles. "The native houses are all low, thatched structures, enclosing a square court. The only break in the mud wall is the door. There are few buildings in European style."*

The inhabitants of Ibadan, as did the tribes in Palestine in the old biblical days, maintained a feud with nearby tribes. In 1862 the people of Ibadan destroyed Ijaya, a nearby town containing 60,000 inhabitants.

Aside from peculiar tribal customs, the city is governed by two dictators—one civil and the other military, but a remarkable institution is the "mother of the town", who is called the *Iyaloda*. All disputes of the women are submitted to her to be settled.

Ibadan, along with other Nigerian cities, could hardly come up to our definition of a city, but its population may be said to be urban since thousands of people live in huts or houses built close to each other, and carry on their agricultural activities at some distance outside the city.

But Ibadan no matter what sort of a city it might be is a Negro city, run by Negroes—subject to approval of representatives of the British Government—and here again the race has had the opportunity to prove its capabilities. The city has failed to produce great men, important industries, or even a civilization that is up to the standard of backward countries.

* Encyclopedia Britannica.

NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

Although we have seen that there are only two countries in the world which are peopled and governed by Negroes, in the United States there are certain cities with large Negro populations, which, while they do not govern themselves politically, since Negroes are minority groups in their respective cities and states whose governments are controlled by the white race,* yet economically and socially they do govern themselves. In spite of all their pleas to the contrary, they are masters of their own destiny.

Let us now see what the Negroes have achieved in the United States, particularly in those cities where they are numerous, and where they have had a greater opportunity to succeed because of better educational advantages and an improved economic status.

The City of New Orleans, Louisiana, with about 160,000 Negroes, attracts our attention because its Negro population has always been large compared to the white. It was for over a hundred years a slave market, and throughout the years many of its Negroes were "free men of color"†; and today there is a greater proportion of mulattoes or lighter-colored Negroes than is usually found in most cities.

There are several reasons for the large mulatto population of New Orleans. First, the city was founded and settled by the French and later by the Spaniards, neither of whom entertained the same feeling against racial intermixing as did the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

In 1788 there were 1500 *gens de couleur libres* in New Orleans. But even then they aroused antagonism. An ordinance forbade the women of that class to wear jewels or plumes, and they were compelled when appearing in public to cover their heads with a cloth called a "tignon". During and after the revolution in San Domingo thousands of people came to New Orleans by way of Cuba, and many of these were mulattoes. George W. Cable estimated that in 1809 there were 2,000 "free people of color". He says: (They) "were an unambitious, corrupted and feeble class of which little was feared

* In New York and Chicago Negroes, voting as a block, sometimes hold the balance of power. And this political power is not inconsiderable since the Negro vote often determines the results in municipal or state elections, and may even exert a profound influence on the result of a national election.

† This term at first was applied only to mulattoes or Negroes with some white blood. The term "colored" person or "colored" people originated in Louisiana. It is now a euphemism for Negro.

and nothing hoped." On the 18th of July 1809 nearly the same number of free persons of color—originally from San Domingo—arrived from Cuba. Governor Claiborne ordered the deportation of these people, but not many left the city. The further entrance of these lighter-skinned Negroes was soon prohibited, but not before quite a number had been added to the already comparatively large population of lighter-skinned Negroes. In 1810 the population of New Orleans was 24,552 of which about 4,000 were "free persons of color".

New Orleans, being a city and slave market, was a favorable locality for the practice of miscegenation. And 125 years ago a strange custom which existed in no other city in the United States, and which we do not like to think about now, resulted in the increase of the mulatto population. This same custom, called "mancebia", in Brazil, is still prevalent in Bahia. The well-to-do young men form a temporary alliance with a quadroon or octoroon, furnishing her with a house and paying all the expenses of the establishment, which arrangement lasts until the man terminates it for marriage or for other reasons.

Before the Civil War the mulatto population of New Orleans was much larger than it is now in proportion to the Negro population. The mulattoes comprised four-fifths of the "F.M.C.'s". In 1840 the free mulattoes were nearly one-third as numerous as the whites. Considerable feeling against them developed, and between the forties and fifties a migration of mulattoes occurred in which, according to George W. Cable, about 12,000 mulattoes moved away from the city. Where they went or what happened to them nobody seems to know. Thus at the time of the Civil War the "free" mulatto population of the city had been considerably reduced.*

Many of the mulattoes who were "free men of color" owned slaves, and some were persons of wealth. In fact P. F. de Gournay in Lippincott's Magazine (1894) stated that in 1860 the "free people of color" owned one-fifth of the taxable property in the City of New Orleans.† In 1850 in New York City according to the census, there were 65 persons among the free colored who were engaged in

* Cable's figure is now said to be wrong, and his error came about by an erroneous computation of the Census Bureau.

† In the State of Louisiana the free people of color paid taxes on an assessment of \$13,000,000. The 1860 census showed the free colored population to be 18,648—about \$700.00 worth of property to each person. The per capita

occupations requiring education such as doctors, lawyers, merchants, ministers, printers, students, teachers, druggists and clerks. This is one out of every 55 free persons of color. In New Orleans there were 165 persons engaged in such occupations or one out of every 11 free persons of color. Of those with education one-third were mulattoes.

When General Butler was in the city during the war he was entertained by a group of Negroes, and at the banquet gold and silver plate was used. He was impressed with their culture and refinement and other evidences of wealth.

What has happened to the men of affairs among these colored people? They were not subjected to the same hardships as were the white citizens of New Orleans. They were not despoiled of their property. On the contrary, they were more or less protected by the Federal Government along with the newly freed Negroes, and they should have been able to hold on to their wealth. But today we do not know of many Negroes in New Orleans who are wealthy. It is true that some moved away—many going to France to live, but most of them stayed here where their descendants still live.

While the American or Anglo-Saxon portion of its people might have shown strong race prejudice, the Creole portion of the population of New Orleans were more kindly and more considerate of the mulatto people. The article in Lippincott's, already mentioned, tells of the strange social group, the Creole mulattoes, "above" the Negroes with whom they would not associate, and yet who were unacceptable socially to the white people. The Creoles treated this mulatto group with consideration without accepting them socially. They transacted business with them, as some were brokers, merchants, real estate agents, and tailors.*

wealth of the northern states was estimated at \$484.00. In Great Britain and Ireland it was \$707.00 (National Almanac for 1863). The wealth of the Louisiana free Negroes was 46% above the average. In Natchitoches, Louisiana, a Frenchman at his death in 1830 left an estate of over \$100,000 to his half-breed children by a colored common-law wife. In the same parish before the Civil War a pure black Negro owned a hundred or more slaves. About the same period in New Orleans the colored concubine of Macarty, early capitalist of the colony, was worth \$155,000. She ran a chain of dry goods stores.

* The Creole Negroes in New Orleans, numbering about one-sixth of the Negro population, are now merging with the other Negroes.

In view of the fact that many of these mulattoes possessed financial means, they were not handicapped economically as Negroes claim to be now. They could have started manufacturing industries, promoted banks and insurance companies and ventured on some of the innumerable enterprises that white people undertake in a growing city. That the mulattoes did not do this under the most favorable circumstances shows their lack of progressiveness. It is one of the failings of the Negro people, or of those possessing Negro blood.

Negroes and mulattoes have been in New Orleans over two hundred years. During that time they have enjoyed—and for a period of over seventy-five years some of them had education* and wealth—more social freedom than was found in any other American City. Yet they have produced no great writers, artists, industrialists, or professional men.† They have instituted no program that would help to lift their race to higher levels of culture. Today instead of owning one-fifth of the taxable property, the colored people of the city, numbering 30.1% of the population, own only 3.4% of the dwellings of the city—in 1940, 4522 dwellings out of 132,803.

It seems difficult for Negroes to make a success of the enterprises they start. In southern cities the Negro professional man cannot easily obtain satisfactory offices "down town". The leading office buildings will not rent him space. So about fifteen years ago a group of prominent Negro citizens, in cooperation with local Negro life insurance companies, erected a ten-story office building in

* Before the Civil War it is estimated that over 2000 colored Creoles received their education abroad. Many of them were quadroon girls.

† There was some cultural activity among the mulattoes, however. In 1843 a group of "free men of color" published a magazine which contained articles, stories and poems written by its members. Three of these writers went to France where they later achieved some prominence. One was Victor Sejour, twenty-three of whose plays were staged in Paris.

One of the most remarkable mulattoes of New Orleans was Thomy Lafon. Born in 1811 he was evidently educated abroad as he spoke three languages, and was fond of music. He was modest and unobtrusive. He was one of the largest real estate owners in the city. He was likewise one of the city's greatest philanthropists, and gave freely during his long lifetime to various charities—black and white, Protestant and Catholic. At his death on Dec. 22, 1893, he left an estate of about \$300,000, and of his cash bequests of \$136,000 about \$100,000 went to the Charity Hospital, the Lafon Old Folks' Home (for Negroes) and other charitable institutions.

down-town New Orleans on one of the streets in the Negro "trading" section. A part of it was occupied by the Knights of Pythias, a fraternal organization, another section by the life insurance company, and there was even a roof garden on the top. Space was rented to leading Negro physicians and lawyers. Soon, however, the owners of the building began to become delinquent on their notes, and it was finally sold under a mortgage foreclosure, and has now passed into the hands of white people. The Higgins Industries—manufacturers of Higgins boats—uses it for their colored personnel department, training schools, etc.

It would not be fair to say that the failure of this large office building owned by Negroes in the South's largest city was due entirely to its management, because many other office buildings have gotten into financial difficulties, even the Empire State Building in New York City. On the other hand, office buildings in New Orleans which were properly financed and properly managed did not have their mortgages foreclosed. They have proved to be good investments. It would seem that in a city where there are 150,000 colored people an office building such as the Pythian Temple, about which I am writing, would be a successful real estate venture. In the whole United States the Negroes own few buildings, and even in Harlem where there are nearly a half million people, thousands of stores and other mercantile establishments, there is no Negro-owned office building.

The statement that Negroes in the United States have been denied economic opportunity is untrue. It is true that in many instances, because of racial prejudice, their economic opportunities are often not equal to those of the whites. For instance, if a Negro applied for a job at the same time as a white man, the preferences would probably be given to the white man, but even this statement can be qualified because many times for certain kinds of work employers would prefer Negro laborers and hire them in preference to white men. Let us look now into the general proposition that the reason Negroes are poverty stricken as a race is that the opportunity of making money has been denied them.

Upon analysis this theory is seen to be unsound. In the first place, while money is not the greatest desideratum in life, yet it comes close to being the dominant psychological force in the world. Next to hunger and sex, the love of money is the most powerful incentive that urges men to action. The power of money is so great

that the Bible says "The love of money is the root of all evil." The possession of money brings power to the owner and respect from everyone. Call a man a millionaire and he immediately has the respect of the crowd. While most southern people will not condescend to show any social favors to a Negro millionaire, yet they will not go out of their way to offend him, and a Negro millionaire living in the South—if there are any such—would not find his way hard or his life difficult. He would find that he can go to a bank and be received courteously and with consideration—that the shop keepers would be glad to wait upon him and to do business with him.*

The same attitude obtains toward Negroes owning less. A Negro farmer, for instance, who owns his own land is not brow beaten or mistreated by his neighbors or by the business men in the town or city where he deals. But of course, some Negro land owners, just as some white land owners, are unpopular. But that the resentment arises from the fact of property ownership is to be doubted. There is always present the ordinary resentment which shiftless or ignorant people hold in general against those who have accumulated wealth.

Americans think too much of money and property to try to prevent a Negro from accumulating it. The kind of people that the Americans do not like—or to put it not so harshly, "have no time for"—are those who are shiftless and poor. This is one reason why Negroes are not popular. But let a man start making money, then his neighbors begin to think more of him. Americans admire success. For this reason southern people, no more than northern people, have not tried to prevent Negroes from making money, Southerners might not want monied Negroes to build their houses in the same residential sections, but this is a social and not an economic limitation. Southern white people, as do northern white people, live by farming, manufacturing and trading. Southern people have traded with the Negroes, that is to say, exchanged produce, commodities and merchandise for cash. They have financed them, and "done business" with them throughout the years. If Negroes owned

* "... wherever I have seen a black man who was succeeding in his business, who was taxpayer and who possessed intelligence and high character, that individual was treated with the highest respect by the members of the white race. In proportion as we can multiply these examples, North and South, our problem will be solved."—Booker T. Washington.

more property or had more money they would have more to spend. Southern business men want Negroes to be better off economically.

The reason the South has paid its Negro labor such low wages is the inefficiency and unreliability of this labor. It is true that under proper regimentation and organization better work might be obtained from the colored laboring man. But, generally speaking, the mass of Negro laborers in the South, while seemingly under paid, are really not worth any more than they are paid.*

Assume that a Negro does not get paid as much as a white man for the same kind of work. He can still lift himself by the boot straps, if he has a mind to. In the first place his wants are simpler, and it does not cost him as much to "keep up with the Joneses", so to speak. But whether he starts to work for \$1.00 a day or 75c a day (these figures are somewhat astonishing since they represent hourly wages in these times) does not make much difference.

Looking into the histories of our great merchant princes, industrialists and financiers, we find that most of them began their business careers at even smaller salaries. Andrew Carnegie, the immigrant boy from Scotland, started at \$3.00 a week. John Wanamaker, the clerk, at \$3.50 a week, worked from seven in the morning until ten at night. Frank Vanderlip of the National City Bank worked in the steel mills for 75c a day. But these men did not stop there. How then did they achieve their success? They saved their money—the saving, of course, could not have been great until they were out of their apprenticeships—they worked long hours, and they often denied themselves the necessities of life. But ambition backed by determination—not for a few weeks or months but for long weary years—finally forced them to the top.

The share-cropper and tenant system in the South has been anathematized and denounced as being almost feudal. Many claim that this economic system should be done away with as soon as possible. And yet this same sharecropper-tenant system, strange as it may seem, has afforded economic opportunity to Negroes throughout the South. But because of inherent racial characteristics, with few exceptions they have not been able to take advantage of it.

* Elbert Hubbard's apothegm is apropos: "The man who never does more than he gets paid for never gets paid for more than he does."

I am not defending the injustices and the unfairness and the wrongs of sharecropping, but it has offered to southern Negroes as well as white people an opportunity.

Any barefoot Negro who looks able bodied can walk into the office of a southern land owner, and unless he is a known criminal, come out with a contract by which he has leased twenty acres* and a mule with the agreement that the planter is to see that he and his family and the mule are fed for nearly a whole year until the crop comes in. The land owner makes a good profit provided the crop does come in and enough cotton is made and picked to pay off the debt. But many things can happen. The Negro tenant might die, he might be killed in a brawl on Saturday night, or he might become sick or totally disabled in the middle of the crop year. He might run away, or what is more probable he might prove to be a poor worker or an indifferent farmer. And when settling-up times comes his account will show that he owes the property owner money. Should the cropper care to leave there is no way of collecting it. In all fairness to these tenants and croppers, however, most of them pay their debts.

Now in this kind of farming there are three contingencies. A small crop might result in showing a loss for the year's operation and leaving the tenant in debt, or the proceeds of the crop might be enough to bring him out even. The third possibility is that on his twenty acres of land after working for a year the cropper might earn a net profit of say \$100. When compared to the annual profits of the Standard Oil Company this is no great sum of money, but of thirty-five million families in the United States, how many of them have \$100 in cash at the end of the year when all expenses have been paid? The answer is, very few indeed. So that the tenant who earns a living for himself and his family gets his housing, food and his clothes and still has \$100 after a year's effort has not done so badly.

What will he do with the \$100 is an important question. Andrew Carnegie would hang on to that \$100. He would put it into a bank, or if a bank were inconvenient he would guard it very carefully. And if he were a sharecropper the next year, instead of "taking up" his rations and supplies at the plantation commissary,

* This includes a house or cabin with space for a vegetable garden and the growing of chickens and hogs.

he would pay cash for those supplies, obtaining them at a much lower cost. The \$100 might not be enough to pay for all of his second year's supplies, but it would go a long way towards doing so. When the end of the second year comes, assuming his crop to be a normal one, instead of owing his landlord \$200 for supplies, he would owe, say, \$50. When he "settled up" instead of receiving \$100 he would get \$250 in cash. For his third year's operations he now has enough cash to finance himself. The tenant is on the way to making money. At the end of five or ten years, allowing for some bad crop years, he would have accumulated enough money to buy a small piece of property, or to make a substantial payment on a farm of his own.

In this slow and laborious manner wealth is created and accumulated. That this outline of how the Negroes of the South could have succeeded economically is not far wrong is proved by the fact that some of them have done this very thing.*

But the majority of Negro farmers at the end of the first crop year, or the end of any crop year if they come out \$100 or \$200 ahead, buy a Stetson 10-gallon hat, a pair of patent leather shoes, which they wear in the fields to plow in, or a buggy, or some contrivance that adds glamor to their modest homes, but which is useless in the economy of their lives. Of course some spend their hard earned money on lady friends, or quickly gamble it away. Only a few have the determination and the character to save and to acquire property.

Of course, the Negroes are not the only shiftless people of the South. Some of the white people have not done much better. But the opportunity was there and is there, and if northern farmers have more improved property—some times with larger mortgages—better painted barns, well-maintained fences and often money in the bank, it is not because they possess more productive land than the people of the southern states. It is because they work hard, they know how to save and they are more energetic and more enterprising. This is not to damn the South in toto, but if it is the economic problem No. 1 of the United States, it is the fault of its people.

* In the South Negroes (1940 Census) owned 141,902 farms and were part owners of 31,361 more. The average acreage was 58.7 per farm for full ownership and 68.3 for part ownership. The average value of the farms was \$1403.00 and \$1629.00 respectively. 20.9% of Negro farmers owned their farms, 4.6% owned part and 74.9% rented their land for farming.

Since the Negroes comprise half the population they must bear their share of the blame, because they are not only the submerged tenth but the submerged half.

The history of the Negroes in the United States shows that they have seldom been economically successful even though often afforded the opportunity. By 1650 there were free Negroes in Virginia and some owned land. In 1810 there were 20,124 free people of color in that state. The slaves of Richard Randolph were freed and formed a colony near Farmville, Virginia. Off to themselves, they had an opportunity to show what they could do. For fifty years they were thriftless people. They could not succeed. They failed to progress as a community or as individuals. Olmsted in his "Seaboard Slave States" said that the poverty of the free Negroes of Virginia was not due to the lack of industrial opportunity.

In 1790 there were 60,000 free Negroes in the United States. Surely some of these people had the opportunity to grow up with the country.

White laborers and farmers in the United States in the early part of the nineteenth century did not have an easy time. The history of American pioneers is one of struggle. Schools were few and most people were illiterate. Many would go to the taverns to learn how to read by studying the well-worn newspapers available there. In Sandburg's *Life of Lincoln* we get some idea of the almost primitive life of the people of Illinois. Lincoln was born and spent his early childhood in this backwoods country. He learned to read by the light of an open fireplace. But so great was his ambition and his determination that he rose to become the President of the United States. He was one of the greatest characters in all history. He overcame his environment. From the dreary background of American pioneer life came the builders of America and the creators of her civilization. Whose fault is it that Negroes have not contributed a greater share? At the time of the Civil War there were nearly a half million free Negroes in the United States, 250,000 of whom were in the South, and two-fifths of their adults were able to read and write. Many of the Negroes owned much property and some were wealthy.

To prove that it was possible for a colored man to achieve success in this land of opportunity, we have only to glance at the career of Booker T. Washington. His book "Up From Slavery", one of the really great biographies, shows how his determination and ambition

brought him success in spite of the handicaps of race and a previous condition of servitude.

Negroes in the United States have failed to take advantage of their opportunities. Instead of blaming the white people for holding them down, they should have worked hard, saved their money and improved their morals and now they would not now have so much to complain about.*

* It is a pleasure to tell of the success achieved by Negroes in one small community. The town of Mound Bayou was founded by Negroes, its homes and enterprises are owned by Negroes and its officials have always been Negroes.

Mound Bayou was founded in 1887 by Isaiah T. Montgomery and Benjamin T. Green. It is located in Bolivar County in the delta section of Mississippi. When the first settlers went there the land had to be cleared and much of it drained. The development of the town, established exclusively for Negroes, followed the pattern of most American towns in their early days. First, the settlers cleared the land. Then someone started a general store. In Mound Bayou it was Montgomery and Green who opened up a mercantile business. The same firm next established a sawmill which furnished the lumber with which the early homes were built. As they cleared the land staves, headings and cross ties were made from the oak, gum, and ash timber and sold to help pay for the land. The firm of Montgomery and Green erected the first cotton gin in the colony.

In 1903 the Bank of Mound Bayou was organized with a capital of \$10,000. The town prospered particularly during the period of 1903 until 1920. Today it has concrete walks and street lights, and modern schools, and it is the home of the Bolivar County Training School with a faculty of twelve, occupying a three-story brick building. There is a four-story office building and a moving picture theatre. There are modern filling stations, stores, restaurants, and so on. It also has two brick churches, one costing over \$30,000 with a fine pipe organ. Negroes operate and own the bank, the electric light and water works system, and a newspaper besides the other activities. The municipal government of Mound Bayou, consisting of a mayor, marshal, treasurer and five aldermen, is stable. The mayor of Mound Bayou today is Benjamin Green, the son of one of the founders, who is a lawyer and a graduate of Harvard. The city government does not burden its citizens with debt. There is no jail. There has not been a capital crime in the town in twenty years, and misdemeanors are infrequent. What a contrast to the average Negro community where crimes of violence are common!

Although the population of Mound Bayou itself is about one thousand, there are eight thousand Negroes in the rural-urban community. Many of the sons and daughters of Mound Bayou have gone out into the world to become respected citizens of other cities. A new veterans' hospital for Negro veterans, costing over \$5,000,000 is being built there.

(Continued on Next Page)

HARLEM

Harlem, on the northern end of Manhattan Island, in a sense is the largest Negro city in the world. In 1940 there were 458,444 Negroes in New York City, of whom over 400,000 lived in Harlem. With a concentrated and segregated Negro population, although without its own separate government or political officials, Harlem is in effect the Negro capital of the United States. Roi Ottley says, "It is the nerve center of advancing black America".

Negroes have been in New York for a long time. In the year 1700 out of a total population of 15,000, one-fifth, or 3,000, were Negroes. It is only recently though that New York City's Negroes have been concentrated in Harlem. They have moved from one section to another, and, while there were no legal barriers to their scattering throughout the city, there was a social one which was enforced or controlled by the real estate market. When Negro tenants would move into certain sections the property values would decline to an alarming extent. Consequently property owners would not sell their property to Negroes or encourage them to become tenants. Whenever Negroes moved into one section, the white people would move out. So for economic as well as racial reasons the Negroes in New York City have been grouped together. This should have been an advantage to them. A body of over 400,000 people should be self-sufficient economically, artistically and socially.

In Harlem this proved to be so except economically. Roi Ottley in his splendid book "New World A-Coming" says that Harlem is not self-sufficient. "Its people are dependent on the financial, commercial and industrial arteries of the dominant white groups for its very life blood." The only business controlled by the Negroes in Harlem are the beauty shops, cabarets and mortuary parlors. The banks, stores, office buildings, apartments and such few industries as are to be found there are owned and conducted by white people. Of course Negro doctors and lawyers and professional men practice among the Harlemites. Negro artists, actors and writers make Harlem their home.

Harlem today is composed of the descendants of the early New

Mound Bayou is one of a dozen all-Negro towns in the United States. Among them is Grambling, La., home of the Louisiana Rural Normal, a college for training colored teachers, and Boley, Okla. These towns prove that where Negroes have initiative and the determination to help themselves it is possible for them to succeed.

York Negroes, thousands of those who have migrated from other sections, particularly the South, and over 100,000 who have come from the West Indies. Of these in 1940, 51,286 were foreign born, only 18,000 of whom have been naturalized.

Harlem is the home of the brains of the Negro race in the United States, and yet its people are poor and diseased, live in crowded tenements, and are unable to lift themselves out of the mire.* Although many of their race are well-to-do and some are rich, they never seem to start or promote business enterprises which would make them independent of the white race, which so many seem to hate. They show no community spirit except in their complaints against things as they are in their efforts to gain social equality.

Harlem cannot be cited as an example of successful community organization promoted and conducted by the Negro race.

BAHIA

Bahia is a state in Brazil somewhat larger than the State of Texas in the United States. It has a population of approximately four million people, or 10% of the entire country of Brazil. In Bahia is the City of Bahia now called San Salvador. Its population in 1940 was 363,726. The number of telephones in the city was 3,855 and the number of automobiles was 1028.

Bahia is interesting because it is one of the oldest cities in the Western Hemisphere, and one where there has occurred the greatest intermixing of the black and white races. Donald Pierson in his recent book, "Negroes in Brazil," (University of Chicago Press) writes of the civilization, culture and the intermixture of races in Bahia. The title of his book mentions Brazil, but since the northern part of Brazil contains more Negroes and more half breeds than any other section, since Bahia was a port of disembarkation for the majority of the millions of slaves which were brought to Brazil, and since many of them were used on the plantations of that state, his study was wisely limited to that particular section. It is interesting to note that on the jacket of his book we find this description: "A revealing study of racial integration through economic mixture, in a friendly land where *class* not *race* determines social prestige."

* Their motto is:

"Jesus will lead me
And the Welfare will feed me."

Bahia was established in 1509 and it is one of the oldest cities founded by Europeans in the Americas. From 1580 until 1680 it was a great port and one of the richest cities in the world. The State of Bahia was the home of great sugar plantations, so that the City of Bahia was a sugar market and an export port. It was also the leading port for the importation of slaves. In fact Bahia was until 1825 the first commercial city of Brazil. From the very beginning there was inter-breeding between the races. There was some mixing with the Indians, but most of the racial intermixing occurred between the Portuguese whites and the African blacks.

Since in Brazil people do not worry much about the color line, and in Bahia particularly there is no racial prejudice because of race, per se, mulattoes and those with Negro blood in their veins enjoy there all the opportunities available to whites. For generations mulattoes have owned property, and today the property in Bahia is owned by whites and mulattoes, and the society of the City of Bahia is composed of whites and mulattoes. But pure Negroes and dark-skinned, mixed breeds own little property and do not have much social standing.

In spite of this lack of racial antagonism, Bahia has not justified the expectations of those who believe that all races are "equal." The Negroes there have not done as well as those in the United States. Pierson remarks: "Individuals of African descent—mixed bloods as well as black—have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States."

The City of Bahia had a head start on most of the cities of the New World, and yet today it is a sleepy, unprogressive city, its people possessing some wealth, with a great deal of poverty among its darker-skinned citizens, many of whom are addicted to voodooism and other African cults. In Bahia they even speak the old African languages, wear the same kind of clothes as did their ancestors, and hold on to their religious beliefs in spite of the efforts of the Catholic Church to wipe them out. Here may be found sorcery, black magic, African dances, fetish cults, and the candomble with hundreds of deities, rituals and fetishes.

Bahia has developed few industrialists. Its wealthy men never put up venture money except to buy slaves.

While there is considerable culture in Bahia today among the upper classes, many of whom go to Europe for their education, the city is a backward one from our standpoint. It has produced no

prominent artists, musicians or writers. For 300 years it has been a great port, during 200 years of which it was one of the world's wealthiest cities, yet its people have never invented any labor-saving devices, instituted social reforms to help their fellow human beings, developed political programs that would bring about better government, or done anything that has added to the culture or to the improvement of Mankind. In fact, so unimportant is Bahia in world affairs that most people have never heard of it, or its modern name, San Salvador, and yet it is today among the 300 largest cities in all the world.

In Bahia the Negroes have not been held down and deprived of their economic opportunities, because there has been no class feeling against them.* Negroes have been in Brazil for over 400 years, and today many of them are still African in their customs and in their religion. They have progressed a very little distance from the civilization of their ancestors. Some of those who have become part white are now cultured and possess wealth, but as a people they have been ineffective in national or international affairs. Surely the Negro race has had opportunity in Bahia, and has again failed to take advantage of it.

CONCLUSION

After examining the countries, states and cities where the Negro race has been dominant, or where a large enough group of the race is segregated so that in effect it is an independent community, the only conclusion we can come to is that Negroes have not proved that they can develop a high type of civilization of their own.

* But the Negroes there complain, too, that they are being oppressed. The Bahian blacks are dissatisfied with their lot. Donald Pierson reports that in a bill of complaints presented to the Afro-Brazilian Congress by a Bahian black is this paragraph: "The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to point out how deplorable is the condition of the black man in Brazil."

CHAPTER VIII.

NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

THE Negro race has made its greatest progress in the United States. While we hear on all sides how Negroes are mistreated and deprived of their rights, how they are oppressed and how they are denied opportunity,* the fact is that the United States has been kind to the Negro, and has afforded that race its greatest opportunity to succeed. In Brazil, where there are more Negroes than in any other country outside of Africa except the United States, where there is little color prejudice, and where there is great natural wealth, Negroes have not done as well.

In the United States the Negro, carried along by the general advance of the whites and the continued increment of wealth, although he often does very little to help create wealth or to accumulate it, has automatically shared in the general prosperity.

The United States gives the Negro splendid educational advantages—better than those enjoyed by the peoples of many European countries. Even though his wages are slightly lower than those paid white laborers, they are far and above the wages received in Asia, Malaysia, Africa and South America, and greater than the wages of the laborer in Europe. In the skilled trades such as carpenters, masons and stevedores, wages are equal to those of white people, and 100% above the wages of Europeans for similar work.†

While generally the Negro lives in poverty, and in the cities his habitation is often unsanitary, yet in the great charity hospitals

* No serious unbiased scholar will deny that the Negro Americans have been the most oppressed minority group in the world for the past three hundred and twenty-three years.—Wm. Hard in "The Negro" (July-Aug. 1944.)

By sheer weight of numbers, by the sheer horror of his condition, the American Negro remains one of the most oppressed and persecuted minorities in the world.—Dalton Trumbo in "Crisis" (1943).

† The hourly rates for semi-skilled workers in 1941 averaged in the United States 81 cents against 39 cents in Australia, 35 cents in Sweden and 28 cents in Germany. (Economic Almanac for 1943-44.)

he receives the finest medical attention without charge. His health has improved as the general health of the country has improved. Thus the Negro's mortality has decreased in the last decade from 16.5 per thousand in 1930 to 13.9 in 1940. Economically his condition is better than it ever has been.

It might be interesting to glance at the history of the Negro in the United States, and see what he has accomplished on his way up from slavery.

One or two Negroes visited this country with the first Spanish explorers, but the first "negars" to arrive in our country to become permanent residents were those twenty blackmen which the Dutch trading vessel when it landed at Jamestown in 1619 sold to the Virginia planters.

Negro slavery did not develop very fast in the North American provinces because at first the slaves came by way of England. The exports of the colonies were bulky, and Negroes could be brought back as return cargo. To get them direct from Africa would have required a voyage to that coast, and there was little trading then between North America and Africa, the slaves were imported in the round-about way from England. In 1688 England stopped the export of slaves, and after that date they were brought to the colonies direct, or generally from the West Indies.

Just how many Negroes were imported into this country during the early years of our history is not known. Bancroft, the historian, estimates: "Previous to 1740 there may have been introduced into our country 130,000; before 1776, a few more than 300,000."

H. C. Carey (The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign—1853) a statistical authority, estimated that importations were as follows:

Prior to 1714.....	30,000
1715 to 1750	90,000
1751 to 1760	35,000
1761 to 1770	74,500
1771 to 1790	34,000
Subsequent to 1790.....	70,000

Total importation of slaves into
United States 333,500

The population of Negroes in the United States, free and slave, in the various decades was as follows:

1714	58,850
1750	220,000
1760	310,000
1770	462,000
1780	582,000
1790	752,000

Thus it will be seen that up until 1790, 263,500 Negroes had been imported and the total population of colored people was approximately two and a half times that number.

Robert Dale Owen (The Wrong of Slavery—1864) after careful study, arrived at different figures with regard to slave importations. He estimates that up to the year 1776 there were brought into the United States 310,000 Negro slaves.

Previous to 1776.....	310,000
From 1776 to 1790.....	15,000
From 1790 to 1800.....	27,770
From 1800 to 1810.....	47,884
Imported into Louisiana previous to 1803.....	15,000

Total..... 415,654

The importation of slaves into the United States was abolished in 1808, but there was some smuggling after that date. Owen estimated that, in round figures, 500,000 slaves came into the United States.*

Slavery is one of society's oldest institutions, and it still exists in out-of-the-way places. In fact, slavery was one of the first steps toward civilization. Paradoxically, it was a beneficent institution. When primitive man engaged in wars, he killed and often ate his

* SLAVE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

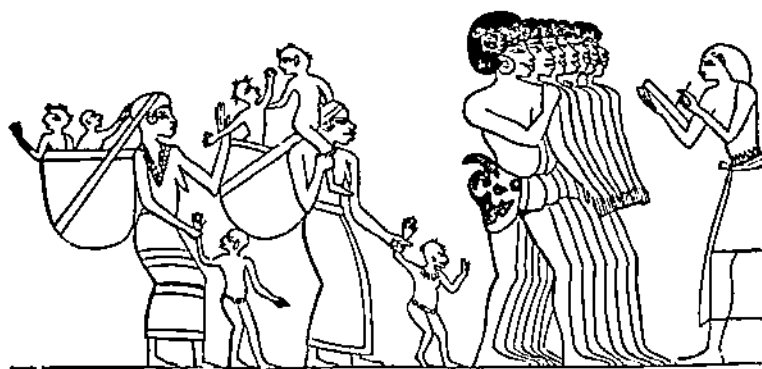
1790.....	697,624	
1800.....	893,602	28.1 %
1810.....	1,191,352	33.3 "
1820.....	1,538,022	29.1 "
1830.....	2,009,043	30.6 "
1840.....	2,487,355	23.8 "
1850.....	3,204,313	28.8 "
1860.....	3,953,760	23.4 "

prisoners. But when he put his captives to work instead of putting them to death, the institution of slavery became economically and socially advantageous to both victor and vanquished. Several purposes were accomplished. First, the life of the slave was saved. Second, he became valuable property, which encouraged the accumulation of wealth; and third, he was generally put to work tilling the soil, which fostered agriculture.

Slavery has not always meant hardship. The earlier Romans, for instance, treated their slaves well and in farming communities they worked in the fields together with their master, ate at the table with him and his family. In the days of the Empire, however, the life of a slave was lightly regarded by the haughty Romans, and these poor wretches were often subjected to great cruelties, as when Vedius Pollio threw slaves to the lampreys in his fish pond to entertain his guests.

Christianity brought about the decline of slavery in Europe. In the Middle Ages, while the serfs were not much better off than slaves, they belonged to the land, and could not be separated from it. Their families could not be taken away and "sold down the river". For a thousand years the institution of slavery did not exist in Europe except sporadically. It was against the law of the Church and against Christian sentiment.

But while Christianity had freed the slave, it later manacled him again. For when the Portuguese began their voyages of dis-



Old Wood Cut.

This scene is taken from a monument at Thebes. An Egyptian scribe at the right, colored red on the monument, registers the black slaves of which can be seen males, females and their children. Note the tufts of kinky hair on the children's heads. The approximate date is 1500 B. C.

covery, and brought back Negroes it was proclaimed a Christian act, because the souls of the poor pagans would otherwise have been lost. This theory fitted in nicely with the trading instincts of both the Spaniards and Portuguese. And soon, under the guise of Christianizing the savages, they enslaved Negroes and Indians by the millions. Under the yoke of the gold-seeking Spaniards, the Indians died like flies in the Americas. Negroes were then imported to take their place, and while some survived other millions died within a few years after their capture.

When the Dutch and the English saw that the Spanish and the Portuguese were making "big money" out of the slave trade, they entered into it too; and long afterwards, when England had abolished the slave trade, Americans, particularly from Providence, R. I., became engaged in the nefarious traffic.

Slavery has afforded opportunity for the expression of the meanest instincts of mankind. The horrors and cruelties of the slave trade have not been exaggerated.

It must be realized that slavery was induced and aided and abetted by the Negroes themselves.* They had no feeling against it, and slavery exists in Africa today. In fact it would be widely prevalent if white men had not been active for years in trying to stamp it out. At the time when the traffic was at its height African chiefs made war on each other so that they might sell their captives to slave traders. Most of the slaves were prisoners of war. Often individuals kidnapped other individuals and sold them into slavery. More often a tribe or a chieftain would sell its criminals. The most heinous crimes were adultery, theft and witchcraft.

Negroes have strict codes of sexual morality *after* marriage. Adultery, therefore, was a crime which brought quick retribution, and it is the offense which was responsible for the greatest number of criminal slaves. The offended person could sell the woman and the man and all his family into slavery. Sometimes men were sold for debt. Some would gamble away their liberty. A man would bet first a leg, let us say. If this was lost he would continue staking different parts of his body until he had lost all of them, and then he would surrender as a slave.

* "Negroes have enslaved each other for thousands of years. Very few of them have even become slaves to whites without having been previously slaves to other negroes."—Wm. Graham Sumner in "Folkways" (Pg. 265.)

From these various sources were obtained the millions of slaves that were shipped to the Americas.

At first slaves were imported into America under contracts, *asientos*, which the Spanish Government made with various grantees. The first *asiento* was granted by Charles in 1517, who gave one of his Flemish favorites a patent for the importation into the Colonies of 4,000 Negro slaves. The patent was sold to a company of Genoese merchants who carried it into effect. *Asientos*, or contracts, occasionally granted throughout the sixteenth century and more extensively in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were given to individuals, to companies and even to governments.

That Negroes were considered merchandise is shown by the wording of some of the contracts. For instance, in 1696 the Portuguese Guinea Company bound itself to deliver to the Trans-Atlantic Colonies "10,000 tons of Negroes." In 1713 his Britannic Majesty under a thirty-year contract undertook to deliver to Spanish America "114,000 pieces of India, both sexes and all ages." These various contracts or treaties were all concluded *El nombre del santísima Trinidad*—"in the name of the Most Holy Trinity."

Spain negotiated in less than two centuries more than ten treaties which authorized the transportation of more than a half million slaves, and on which was levied a per capita tax, totalling approximately ten million dollars. This did not include the tax on grants to individuals and companies. Although Great Britain was the first to abolish the slave traffic, up until this abolition her citizens were engaged in it more extensively than any other people.

In 1788 the British Government ordered an investigation of the slave traffic, and in 1789 there was published the "Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council." This remarkable report, printed in a thick folio volume, gives a true picture of the slave trade. Three-fourths of the witnesses before the committee were slave dealers or captains of slavers. The report showed that from 1751 to 1787 one-tenth of all the vessels that sailed from Liverpool were engaged in the slave trade, and that in these thirty-six years the tonnage of the slave vessels increased from 5,000 to 15,000 tons.

Nobody knows exactly how many slaves these ships carried. One estimate in the report puts it at 80,000 annually and another at 74,000. Based on the tonnage of the ships, however, Owen estimates that 90,000 slaves a year were brought to the West Indies and the Americas. The French Committee of Inquiry of 1848 placed the

number of slaves exported from Africa from 100,000 to 140,000 a year, and Owen estimates that from 1788 to the year 1860, 7,120,000 slaves were deported from Africa.

How many were brought over to the Americas in the two centuries previous, when, as Cochin said, "All Europe abandoned itself openly to the Negro slave trade," can only be estimated.

Owen estimates that the total deportation of Negroes from Africa by the slave trade from the year 1508 to the year 1860 was as follows:

From 1508 to 1588, 80 years at an average	
of 5,000 a year	400,000
From 1588 to 1788, 200 years at an average	
of 40,000 a year	8,000,000
From 1788 to 1840, 52 years at an average	
of 120,000 a year	6,240,000
From 1840 to 1848, 8 years at an average	
of 65,000 a year	520,000
From 1848 to 1860, 12 years at an average	
of 30,000 a year	360,000

Total exportation of Negro slaves in 352 years 15,520,000
(This is the number actually delivered in the Americas.)



From An Old Print.
A Slave Trader Purchasing Slaves on the African Coast.

Testimony before the Committee of the Lords of Council shows that most of the slaves were war captives. One witness said "when a ship arrived to purchase slaves the King of Demel sent to the chiefs of the villages and his dominions to send him a given number; but if they were not to be procured on this requisition, the King went to war until he got as many as he wanted." Some times the King would capture whole villages at once, or he would even seize his own subjects. The King of Demel was said to have seventy or eighty thousand troops.

Lord Palmerston, speaking before the House of Lords on July 26, 1844, gave a graphic description of kidnapping expeditions and the organized system of man-stealing which extended for a thousand miles or more into the heart of Africa.

When the time approaches to set out with the slave caravans for the coast, the kidnappers surround a peaceful village at night, set it on fire, and seize on the inhabitants, killing all who resist. If the village attacked is situated on a mountain offering facilities for flight, and the inhabitants take refuge in the caverns, the kidnappers kindle large fires at the entrance; and those who are sheltered there, placed between death by suffocation and slavery, are forced to give themselves up. If the fugitives take refuge on the heights, the assailants render themselves masters of all the springs and wells, and the unfortunates, devoured by thirst, return to barter liberty for life.

The prisoners made, they proceed to the choice. The robust individuals of both sexes, and the children of above six or seven years of age, are set aside to form part of the caravan which is to be driven to the seashore. They rid themselves of the children under six years by killing them on the spot, and abandon the aged and infirm, thus condemning them to die of hunger.

The caravan sets out. Men, women and children traverse the burning sands and rocky defiles of the mountains of Africa barefoot and almost naked. The feeble are stimulated by the whip; the strong are secured by chaining them together or placing them under a yoke. Many fall from exhaustion on the road, and die, or become the prey of wild beasts.

On reaching the sea-shore, they are penned up, and crowded in buildings called *barracoons*, where they fall a prey to epidemics. Death often cruelly thins their ranks before the arrival of a slave-trader.

Some times the fate of those who survived a village attack was just as tragic, because when the marauding parties got to the coast and found no slave vessel to take their booty off their hands they

would kill the slaves rather than stand the trouble and expense of taking them back.

Lord Palmerston believed that for every three Negroes seized in the interior of Africa to be sold into slavery but one reached his destination—two others died in the course of the operations of the slave trade. He said: "Whatever may be the number yearly landed, therefore we must triple it to obtain the true number of human beings which this detestable traffic carried off from Africa." *

The Lords of Council report contains the testimony of many witnesses who gave evidence such as that of a surgeon on board of a slaver, "One day a woman with a child in her arms was brought to us to be sold. The captain refused to purchase her not wishing to be plagued with a child on board; so she was taken back to shore. On the following morning she was again brought to us, but without the child, and apparently in great sorrow. The black trader admitted that the child had been killed in the night to accommodate the sale".

And the cruelties of Negro exploiters of slavery in Africa are handed down by tradition even until today. Donald Pierson (Negroes in Brazil) tells the story, related by a descendant, of a Negro woman who was captured by a warrior in Africa. He writes: "She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, 'She is mine! She is mine!' but neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife and slash! he cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could take his share."

After the slaves were brought from the interior of Africa down to the coast, they were "stored" in *baccaroons* until a slave ship appeared to purchase a cargo.

* In the early days of colonization in America the death rate of all migrants was high even though their migration was not compulsory and generally their treatment was humane. The first year mortality among the early English colonists was devastating. Raleigh's colony in North Carolina (Croatan) perished altogether. At Jamestown, Virginia, of 105 colonists living on the 22nd of June, 1607, just after the landing, 67 had died by January 8, 1608. And at "Plymouth Plantation" where the Pilgrims started their settlement in November, 1620, "In two or three months half the company died, out of one hundred scarce fifty remained—but six or seven sound persons."

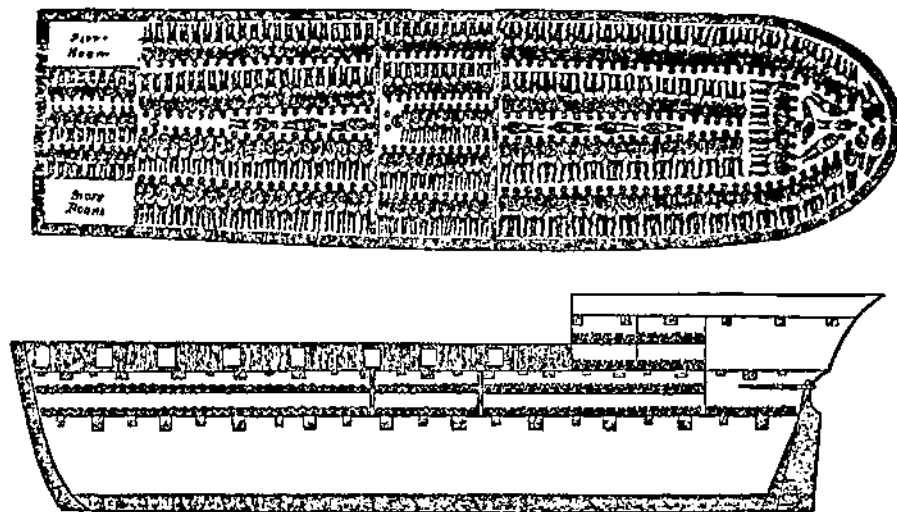
The vessels employed as slavers were from 150 to 300 tons burden. The average number of persons carried per ton was two and upwards—some times three.*

In order to carry two slaves to a ton on the small vessels, they had to be packed into the hold literally like sardines in a can. When stowed below a full grown slave was allowed a space of sixteen inches in width and smaller slaves twelve to fourteen inches. One stower seventeen years in the trade said that 14 $\frac{2}{3}$ inches was a fair average.

The slaves were often manacled together, and they could not turn over during the night unless all of one section turned together. According to the Lords' report William James, who had made three voyages on slavers testified, "that on board the Britannia the height between decks was about five and a half feet. No slave whatever had room to turn himself when the cargo was completed. The chief

* A bill was proposed in Parliament which would limit the number of slaves per ton. The captain of a slaver who had made eleven voyages said that if the bill limited the number of slaves to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to a ton, it would cause the abolition of the trade. He furnished this table:

An average of 1 man per ton the loss would be.....	£ 590
An average of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ man per ton the loss would be.....	£ 206
An average of 2 men per ton the profit would be.....	£ 180
An average of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ men per ton the profit would be.....	£ 761



From An Old Print.

Decks of a Slave Ship Showing How the Slave Cargo Was Stored.

mate, boatswain and an active young man were employed in stowing or packing them together—as in adjusting their arms and legs and prescribing a fixed space for each." Lord Palmerston speaking of the African slave ship said "A Negro has not as much room in them as a corpse in a coffin."

Slaves some times attempted suicide by jumping over board or refusing to eat. To prevent suicide the men slaves were chained down. When they would not eat they were punished. Some times they were sick, and not coming to eat were punished so severely that they died because of it.

The horrors of middle passage* have been described many times, but no pen has ever overdrawn the misery and suffering of the poor human beings that had to endure it. Because water occupied too much space on the ships there never was enough. The holds were intolerably hot. Dysentery was common. Said a surgeon in this trade who published a work on this subject in 1789, "The deck or floor of their rooms resembled a slaughter house. It is not in the power of human imagination to picture to itself a situation more dreadful or disgusting."

Sometimes when there was danger of the slaver being caught by a British man-of-war the slaves would be taken up on deck and all tied together in a rope chain with an anchor at the end of the rope. If a war ship came into sight and the slaver could not escape, the anchor was thrown overboard and several hundred slaves pulled into the water after it. In this manner the evidence would be destroyed. The smell from the slave ship was so strong that ships passing miles away would know that it was a slaver. The mortality of the middle passage ranged all the way from 5% to 25%, and this excessive death rate occurred among persons in the very prime of life.† After a slaver reached port and the slaves were landed there was an additional mortality of around 5%.

* The middle passage gets its name from the fact that a trader would load with rum or sugar and sail to Liverpool, and then ship from that point to to the African coast where he would load with slaves to be carried to the West Indies. Thus the middle passage was the middle line or base of the triangle.

† Slavery also took a toll of the sailors who sailed the slave ships. Often half of the complement of a slaver never returned. Thomas Clarkson submitted to the Committee a table which showed that out of 3170 sailors who went out on 88 slavers only 1428 came home, 642 died, others were deserted or left behind on account of sickness.

The total number of slaves imported into the Western Hemisphere is estimated by Owen to have been about 15,000,000. This means that in 350 years in order to supply this number, 45,000,000 African Negroes were captured in their native land, 15,000,000 of them losing their lives on their march to the sea and while waiting in the baccaroons, another 15,000,000 dying during the middle passage and immediately thereafter. These figures do not include the other millions that were killed in the destruction of villages and in the capture of the slaves. Estimating this at 5,000,000 we have a total of 50,000,000 individuals of whom 35,000,000 were killed or died in order that the other 15,000,000 might live out their existence as slaves in the New World.

After the slaves reached the Americas they were treated with such cruelty and barbarism that their numbers decreased instead of increasing as would be natural. From a very careful study and after the examination of 150 volumes on the Negro population of South America alone, Owen was able to construct this table:

NUMBER OF NEGROES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN THE
WESTERN HEMISPHERE IN THE YEAR 1860

In the United States	4,435,709
In the English, French, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish West Indies, including Guiana.....	1,100,000
In the Spanish West Indies.....	787,500
In the Island of Hayti.....	755,000
In the Empire of Brazil.....	4,200,500
In the rest of South America and in Central America	263,831
In Canada	20,000
Total.....	11,562,540

Of the 11,562,000 Negroes in the western hemisphere, 4,435,000 were in the United States. Our previous table showed that only 500,000 slaves were brought into the United States. Thus there was nearly a ten-fold increase. But in all other countries the number of Negroes decreased 50%, since the total number of importations was 15,000,000 and the total number of Negroes outside of the United States in 1860 was approximately 7,250,000. In other words, the peoples in the Latin-American countries over-worked their slaves or killed them off, whereas in the United States they

were well taken care of, so that they increased and multiplied. This fact refutes the argument of the abolitionists before the Civil War, and disproves the popular belief even of today, that the institution of slavery in the United States was usually cruel and brutal.

Some recent writers say that many more Negroes were imported into the United States than are indicated by the estimates of Carey and Owen. Smuggling accounted for the discrepancy. Herskovits (A Handbook of Social Psychology—1935) estimates that two and a half million African Negroes were smuggled into the United States after 1808 when their importation was prohibited. This estimate is absurdly high, and can only have been made by a prejudiced writer endeavoring to show that slaves in the United States endured cruelties and hardships and were consequently shortlived. For if two and a half million Negroes had been illegally imported in the fifty years before the Civil War, there would have been in the United States vastly more than 4,441,000 Negroes in 1860. There were 1,379,800 Negroes in 1810—an increase of 3,020,000 in fifty years. The addition of 2½ million smuggled Negroes would have held the natural increase in a half century down to only 500,000. This is at the rate of 3.5% per decade, whereas the rate of increase before the alleged smuggling (from 1800 to 1810) was 32.3% and after (1860-1870) 9.9%, and from 1870 to 1880 it was 34.9%.

It is highly improbable that in fifty years from 1810 to 1860 even a half million slaves were imported illegally into the United States when less than that number had been brought in legally in all the previous years. Slave women were prolific and some bore as many as twenty and thirty children.* Of course, the infant mortality was high, but the excess of births over deaths was 20 per thousand, according to the estimate of Louis I. Dublin, Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. He estimates that the birth rate of Negro slaves was from 45 to 55 per thousand. Dublin ("Health and Wealth"—Harper's) states that from 1859 to 1860, 85 slave ships were fitted out from New York City alone, and brought in from 30,000 to 60,000 slaves in two years. Dublin says that the last ship load of slaves to reach the United States came on

* W. H. Russell on his trip up the Mississippi River in 1862 talked to an old Negro on Mr. Burnside's Plantation, who said: "Golla Mighty gave me fourteen children, but He took them all away from Sally and me. No budy care much for dam old nigger like me."

the Lawrence which ran the blockade and landed her cargo of "black ivory" at Mobile in the year 1862.*

In fact, it is not probable that 30,000 slaves a year were smuggled into the United States in 1859 and 1860. Such a quantity would "break the market," and at \$500.00 apiece would amount to \$15,000,000. The slave owners of the United States preferred Negroes who were acclimated, because the loss of newly imported African Negroes from sickness and disease was heavier than native born slaves. Also the Negroes born in the United States were "broken in," and used to plantation ways.

It would have been difficult to smuggle in even the 10,000 slaves a year alleged to have been illegally imported into the United States from 1808 to 1860. Both the English and the American Navies patrolled the African coast. W. E. B. DuBois in his book, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," estimated that in fifty years the United States Government spent twelve million dollars trying to prevent the smuggling of slaves into this country and the suppression of the traffic. This total expenditure includes the cost of naval operations off the coast of Africa and the naval and coast guard operations along our coast. This was a large sum of money for those days. It should have provided an effective blockade. There was a liberal reward then as now to the "informer" who furnished

* In the American Mercury in March 1944 there is an article by Zora Neale Hurston called "The Last Slave Ship" in which she claimed that the last cargo of slaves to reach the United States arrived in August 1859. This very interesting article tells how four men living near Mobile rigged up a ship and how they sailed for Africa to see the King of Dahomey. The Captain picked out 130 men and women, paid \$56.00 apiece for them. As they were being loaded into the boats, the Dahomans watching the procedure snatched all the garments off the backs of the captives. As soon as the slaves reached the deck natives then attempted to board the ship, recapture them and perhaps kill the Captain and his crew, but the ship got away. A group of these slaves stayed on a plantation near Mobile, and the last one did not die until 1935 when he was 95 years old. Miss Hurston knew him and this is how the story of the last slave ship came to be written. F. L. Hoffman in "Race, Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro" says: "Near Mobile, Ala., about 1885 there was a settlement of thirty full-blooded Dahomey Negroes brought over in the *Clothilde* in 1859, the last cargo of slaves brought to this country. . . . The old original Africans were fine specimens of the African race, all being tatoo marked and speaking their own language."

information about smuggled goods, and the smuggler who finally landed his human cargo had to be most circumspect.

Great Britain maintained a considerable fleet in the West Indies, and our own Navy and Coast Guard patrolled our coasts to prevent smuggling of any kind. To smuggle 10,000 slaves would have required 35 ships transporting 300 persons each. This means that at least once every ten days a ship would have to run two blockades and then land in some secluded spot. There are records of the seizure of smuggled slaves in this country, but not enough to lead one to assume that the total was very large. There was a tradition that Lafitte had smuggled slaves into the City of New Orleans, but this was before 1812 and the illegal slave traffic could not have been very extensive. When his pirate lair at Barataria was taken by a U. S. cutter a few months before the Battle of New Orleans, over \$500,000 of loot was captured; and there was no "pen" full of slaves.

It has often been stated that the Negro slaves in the South were treated inhumanely.* There is no doubt that in some instances slave owners abused and mistreated their slaves. In individual cases the master would lose his temper, or overseers would have trouble with recalcitrant slaves, and punish them too severely, but generally speaking, slave owners were kind and considerate because it paid them to be so. Slaves were valuable property worth from \$500.00 to \$2,000.00 each. It is certainly did not pay to beat up this "property," and make it inefficient, any more than it would for a race horse owner to mistreat his horses. If the owner wanted a slave to work well he had to feed him properly, watch his health and keep up his morale.

Some owners were inefficient and did not handle their slaves forcefully enough, and they found themselves taking care of them at a loss. Slavery, of course, was uneconomical for this very reason.

A slave owner could not get the most efficiency from workers who had no incentive to work, and the old, the sick and the infirm had to be taken care of. He could not kill them off when they got old as did the Negro slave owners in Africa.

Uncle Tom's Cabin gave a false idea of the institution of slavery in the Southern states. Now and then there would be a Simon

* The Encyclopedia Britannica (1937) says that in the South slavery was often "cruel."

Legree. Most of the mean overseers were Northerners or foreigners, and mulattoes who owned slaves were often hard masters.

The slaves received the best medical attention, they had simple, wholesome food, and were forced to keep regular habits. As a result the health of the Negroes in the United States was better than it has been since emancipation.* Dr. Matas, famous New Orleans surgeon, states that the general morbidity and mortality of the Negroes was less than that of the white population in the South during the whole period of slavery and up until the Civil War. Since 1864 the morbidity and mortality of the Negroes increased enormously and is now much greater than that of the whites.

Slaves were denied education, but they were allowed to go to church and they came in contact, even if in a limited way, with some of the culture of the white race. This was meagre indeed except for those who were household servants, but it gave to a certain small part of the race the opportunity to improve itself.

The plight of the Negro slave, the hardships he endured and his existence under the institution of slavery have shocked humanitarians. The story of his past wins our sympathy, and from the short account I have given here of his translation from the wilds of Africa to the slave pens of the Americas, his history is indeed tragic.

But there were other early Americans who came to the English Colonies, who endured every kind of hardship and degradation, for whom no tears are shed today and whom Melancholy had indeed marked for her own. I speak of the bond servants and others brought over for limited servitude.

It is not generally realized that many of the early settlers of America were "white slaves," and their lot was not an easy one.

* The census of 1850 gives the ages of the slaves. Out of 3,204,313 slaves, 241,768 or 7.54% of the total, were fifty years old or over. The following table shows the number of slaves of various ages above fifty and their percentage of the total population.

127,016	50 to 60 years old	3.96%
74,671	60 to 70 years old	2.33%
26,854	70 to 80 years old	.84%
9,118	80 to 90 years old	.28%
2,684	90 to 100 years old	.08%
1,425	100 years and over	0.5%
<hr/> 241,768		<hr/> 7.54%

Usually they were bond servants who volunteered to undergo several years servitude in order to get to the colonies. But often paupers, vagrants, jailbirds, criminals and homeless children were sent over to be sold into limited servitude. Even worse, children were kidnaped and sent to America to work as servants or in the fields. The records of the London Company show that in 1619 a ship arrived in Virginia bringing 100 children "save such as dyed on the waie." The Company requested that another hundred, twelve years old or over, be sent. These were mostly "friendles boyes and girles." In 1627, 1500 children, kidnaped by "spirits" were brought to Virginia. By the middle of the century, kidnaping was so extensive that Parliament passed an act prohibiting such kidnaping with the penalty of death. One writer says that even after the passage of this act, 10,000 persons were kidnaped annually.

The bond servants were of two kinds—the indentured and the redemptionist. The former signed a contract with a ship captain, who resold the contract upon arrival in America, in which the indenturer agreed to work for a period of five or seven years to pay his or her passage. The redemptionist was given a month or two after arrival in America in which to find some one who would pay or "redeem" his passage in return for seven years labor.

These "white slaves" who were imported into America suffered almost as much as did the Negroes. Bancroft writes "the crowded exportation of Irish Catholics was a frequent event, and was attended by aggravations hardly inferior to the usual atrocities of the African Slave trade."

The poor immigrants were often shipwrecked. They died from diseases caused by over-crowding. They were underfed and often did not have enough water. The passengers were packed on the ship in a space not much larger than that allotted to Negro slaves. One ship having on board 1500 emigrants arrived in America with only 400. Faust ("The German Element in the U. S.") writes: "Many a time parents are compelled to see their children die of hunger, thirst or sickness, and see them cast into the water. Few women in confinement escape with their lives; many a mother is cast into the water with her child."

Geiser in his "Redemptioners" quotes William Eddis who boarded a "white slave" ship in Philadelphia in 1817; "As we ascended the side of the hulk, a most revolting scene of want and misery presented itself. The eye involuntarily turned for some

relief from the horrible picture of human suffering which this living sepulchre afforded."

The brutality, cruelty and avariciousness of the shipmasters seemed to have no bounds. They confiscated the property of the dead, and charged the living for extras which lengthened the term of their service. Geiser writes, "The sick were neglected; contracts made in Europe between importers and passengers were disregarded; immigrants were sold into service to pay the fare of friends or relatives who had died on the journey; husband, wife and children were still separated by being sold to different masters; passengers were robbed of their baggage on landing, and held and treated as prisoners until sold."

It is not known how many "white slaves" were transported to the U. S., but beginning with the earliest settlement in Virginia the system of indentures or bond servitude did not end until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In some states the majority of the immigrants were bond servants. One writer estimates that in Pennsylvania they comprised two thirds of those who migrated to that state from the close of the Revolution until 1804.

We can estimate, then, that in all the colonies at least 500,000 of the settlers were persons subjected to limited servitude. The "white slaves" who settled America were as numerous or more numerous than the Negro slaves, and the sufferings they endured was just as great. Their only advantage over the Negro slave was that their servitude was limited while that of the Negro was for life.

On the whole the lot of the Negroes in the United States might be said to be a fortunate one. We will suppose that they had never been brought here as slaves. They then would have remained in Africa, where many would have been slaves anyway. While not as many would have been killed and the man hunting would not have been as extensive, yet there would have been much of it. Just what proportion of the Negroes of Africa were slaves to the other part of the population, I do not know, but I do know that long before the advent of the white man, tribal chiefs fought with each other in order to capture slaves. Some times they wanted to eat them—and it must be remembered that this cannibalism was not the result of the scarcity of food, since food is plentiful in the African jungle, but because of a liking for human flesh. Therefore, many of those poor devils who perished from the excessive mortality incidental to the capture of slaves and their transportation to America would

have been eaten at cannibal feasts, killed because of suspected witchcraft, or slaughtered and buried when the chief died—as with some tribes it was the custom to bury his wives and slaves with the deceased.

Those Africans who got to America might have been jumping from the frying pan into the fire, but at least they had a chance in the fire as they could sometimes put out the flames. In the United States they had an easier time than their relatives in Africa—in spite of their hardships—and at the end of one, two or three generations their descendants became free, and found themselves enjoying a civilization and a culture undreamed of by their ancestors. American slavery conferred many benefits on Negroes. They came in contact with civilization and were taught Christianity, morality, monogamy and the rights of property. They were taught how to work, and how to take care of themselves so that they enjoyed better health and lived longer.

Thus these Negro slaves at the price of one or two generations of slavery were able to confer upon their posterity the blessed benefits of democratic America with its high standard of living and an opportunity for advancement open to every individual no matter how lowly.* Think what a price Europeans had to pay before they reached or achieved generally such economic, political and social freedom!

For hundreds of years Europe's masses were serfs and peasants and their lives were indeed drab and sordid. The white people of England had to struggle six hundred years to gain what it took the Negroes only one hundred years to get. From the time of King John and the Magna Carta, when Englishmen began to assert their rights, until the middle of the Nineteenth Century when apprentice bondage and imprisonment for debt were abolished, they had to fight for every privilege and right. There was a time when a man out of a job in England could not go from one parish to another to look for work, when strikes to obtain a living wage were illegal

* Mrs. Roosevelt, writing in the Negro Digest on the subject, "If I were a Negro," said: "I think, however, that I would realize that if my ancestors had never left Africa, we would be worse off as natives today under the rule of any other country than I am in this country where so many people were brought as slaves."

and the strikers subjected to harsh punishment,* when a yeoman couldn't kill a deer that ran from the lord's demesne across his field without having his ears cut off, when a man couldn't read his Bible without danger of being burned alive, when a farmer couldn't sell his produce except on market day and by paying a tax, and so on through a long list of prohibitions and restraints that to us seem unreasonable and tyrannical.

The benefits of our glorious civilization were not achieved without struggle. The Negro has done none of this fighting. He has stepped in at the last minute and reaped the advantages. His hundred or two hundred years of slavery—insofar as the United States is concerned—were indeed a small price to pay for the accrued benefits.

Negroes, Mongolians and Malaysians have done nothing to bring about political equality, to liberate the common worker, or to proclaim, enlarge and defend the rights of man. Yet today the whole world is benefiting from the struggle that the English, the people of the United States and later the French people have carried on continually to give every human being justice and equality before the law. The fight is not won yet. In fact, human nature being what it is, we must fight to keep what we have. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

But the idea of freedom for the individual, the ideals of justice and of a democratic government which were originated and developed by the white race, have spread throughout the world and have permeated into the consciousness of every race and every people. Even more than the ideals are the practical results of Caucasian culture and civilization, such as modern medicine, inventions—the automobile, radio, electrical devices, labor-saving machinery, etc.—and improvements in the art of living.

* From 1349 when the enactment of the Statute of Laborers first fixed wages in England until 1825, when such legislation was repealed, there was continuous regulation of the wages of laborers. The colonies in America followed the parent country, and laws were passed to regulate wages and prevent strikes. The first strike against low wages in the United States was that of sailors at the Port of New York in 1802. The leaders were arrested and jailed. In Philadelphia in 1806 the cordwainers of that city organized and were indicted for conspiracy to raise wages. They were tried and the jury returned: "We find the defendant guilty of a combination to raise wages." The boot and shoemakers were fined \$8.00 each and costs—a heavy punishment for those poor hardworking men.

Nowhere in all the world has the Negro such an opportunity as in the United States of America.* And some Negroes are taking advantage of this opportunity. They are going to school and getting some elementary education. Many attend high school and college. In 1900 only fifteen Negro children out of every one thousand went to high school; in 1940, 350 out of every 1,000 enrolled in high school. In 1916 there were only 2,637 students in Negro colleges in all the United States. In 1941 there were 45,000. There are now 3,500 Negro doctors, 2,500 Negro dentists and 5,000 Negro lawyers in the country.

In New York Negroes are judges, and in other parts of the country Negroes occupy offices of public trust and honor. One of our leading scientists, George Washington Carver, was a Negro.

Negroes excel in prize fighting and boxing, but this is an art of brutes and is not one that advances civilization. To be the boxing champion of the world may be an honor just as being the marble-playing champion or the pool-playing champion. These championships result in excellent publicity and excite the interest of trivial minds, or of great minds in lighter moments, but in themselves they are unimportant activities.†

Negroes lead in creating certain forms of music. They are said to be responsible for jazz, boogie-woogie, jive, swing, and certain types of jungle music—a music that is in fact disharmonious and irritating to the nerves, a primitive music that appeals to a primitive people.‡

* On March 24th (1944) in Philadelphia Lieutenant Donald G. Harper, a London born Negro who has lived in England, Germany, Japan, South Africa, Malta and the United States and who speaks eleven languages including Japanese said, "There is no future for the Negro in any country in the world better than in this country." He even likes the United States better than England. He said: "You can at least complain here and get some breaks you cannot get in other countries." In speaking of Japan where he lived for three years when he was one of only 90 Negroes in Japan he said, "Any Negro who feels that the Japanese feel a racial kinship is laboring under a terrifically false impression. The Japs can afford to be tolerant when you travel for miles upon miles without seeing a Negro."

† Joe Louis is perhaps the greatest hero of Afro-Americans.

‡ Atur Rodinski, Conductor of the N. Y. Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, termed boogie-woogie, "one of the greatest causes of delinquency among American youth today." (Jan. 24, 1944.)

The only music developed by Negroes worthwhile is the "spiritual." Whether Negroes are responsible for the music or the words or both I do not know. But the music of the spirituals is expressive of their race, and it has in it the sadness of their past and the hope for their future. The spiritual has a nobility about it that enables us to dignify it as music.

There are no great Negro musicians. There are only syncopaters, jazz artists and tom tom players. Negroes ought to stop boasting about their accomplishments in the field of music. That their creations have given pleasure to millions of people cannot be denied, and the music is harmless in itself, but the continued blare of "blues" and boogie-woogie music does not help to make the Americans a musical people. Negroes have produced no Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Handel, Wagner, Verdi, DeBussy, or any composer equal to the great Russians. Their musical compositions and improvisations have been more or less primitive, often irritating to real musicians. However, now and then a fine Negro singer appears, such as Harry Burleigh and Marian Anderson.

In literature Negroes have created nothing distinctive. Recently Negro writers have come to the fore. They are competent and their craftsmanship is equal to that of the average white writer, but they have produced no great literature. The probable reason—they are trying to write from the white man's point instead of expressing the soul of the Negro. A few Negro poets have written lyrics that give forth the wail of the minor chord which may be said to be true poetry.

But it must be understood that in pointing out the deficiencies of Negroes and how little they have accomplished, I do not do so with the idea of trying to prevent them from accomplishing more. In fact America is an open field. Let every man do the best he can be he black, yellow or white. The way to prove to a doubting world that one can achieve leadership is through action. The Negro in the United States has a great opportunity, even if it is not always quite equal to that of others. But the handicap that is given him is only something to be overcome. He can prove his mettle by his superior "play."

* * * * *

Here follows some statistical matter pertaining to Negroes in the United States.

NEGRO PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

	1866	1930
Homes Owned	12,000	750,000
Farms operated	20,000	882,850
Businesses conducted	2,100	70,000
Wealth	\$20,000,000	\$2,600,000,000

NEGRO SCHOOL ATTENDANCE—1940

Total Negro Population—Age 5 to 24.....	5,125,000
53.19% attending school or	2,721,000
(white attendance 58.5%)	

	Negroes	Whites
Ages 7 to 9	90.1% attend school	95.0% attend school
10 to 14	91.1% attend school	95.4% attend school
15 to 17	61.2% attend school	76.6% attend school

Negro illiteracy has declined from 70% in 1880 to 10% in 1940. From 1930 to 1940 more Negroes were graduated from colleges and universities than in all the previous years of the race's history.

NEGRO POPULATION

The following table shows the percentage of total population in the United States of whites, Negroes and other races.

	1940	1930
White Population	89.8%	89.8%
Negro Population	9.8%	9.7%
Other Races	0.4%	0.5%
	100.0	100.0

The rate of increase for the Negro population was 8.2%, a little greater than the rate for the total population (7.2%) and it was considerably lower than the rate of increase for Negroes in the preceding decade (13.5%).

The regional and divisional patterns of Negro population increase were quite different from those for the total population. In all three divisions of the South the Negroes showed a smaller proportional increase than the total population between 1930 and 1940, while in the divisions of the North and West their rates of increase were uniformly greater than those for the total population. The Negro population increased 15.8 percent in the North during the

decade just past, 5.8 percent in the South, and 41.8 percent in the West. These facts indicate that there was a large migration of Negroes during the 1930's from the South to the North and West, probably out of the rural areas in the South to the urban areas of other parts of the country. Over three-fourths of the Negro population (77.0 percent) still lived in the South in 1940, but this represents a slight decrease from the proportion of 78.7 in 1930. The North had 21.7 percent of the total Negro population in 1940, as compared with 20.3 in 1930, and the West had 1.3 in 1940, as compared with 1.0 in 1930.

POPULATION BY RACE FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940 AND 1930

A minus sign (—) denotes decrease

Race	1940	1930	Increase 1930 to 1940	
			Amount	Percent
All classes	131,669,275	122,775,046	8,894,229	7.2
White	118,214,870	110,286,740	7,928,139	7.2
Native	106,795,732	96,303,335	10,492,397	10.9
Foreign Born	11,419,138	13,983,405	—2,564,267	—18.3
Negro	12,865,518	11,891,143	974,375	8.2
Other races	588,887	597,163	— 8,276	— 1.4
Indian	333,969	332,497	1,572	0.5
Chinese	77,504	74,954	2,550	3.4
Japanese	126,947	138,834	—11,887	—8.6
Filipino	45,563	45,208	355	0.8
Hindu	2,405	3,130	—725	—23.2
Korean	1,711	1,860	—149	—8.0
All other	788	780	8	1.0

11 CITIES WITH 100,000 OR MORE NEGROES

Census 1940

	Negro Population	Total Population
New York, N. Y.	458,444	7,454,995
Chicago, Ill.	277,731	3,396,808
Philadelphia, Pa.	250,880	1,931,334
Washington, D. C.	187,266	663,091
Baltimore, Md.	165,843	859,100
Detroit, Mich.	149,119	1,623,452

New Orleans, La.	149,034	494,537
Memphis, Tenn.	121,498	292,942
Birmingham, Ala.	108,938	267,583
St. Louis, Mo.	108,765	816,048
Atlanta, Ga.	104,533	302,288

CITIES WITH 25,000 OR MORE NEGROES

(Census 1940)

	Negro Population	Total Population	Percentage of Negroes
New York, N. Y.	458,444	7,454,995	6.1%
Chicago, Ill.	277,731	3,396,808	8.2%
Philadelphia, Pa.	250,880	1,931,334	13.0%
Washington, D. C.	187,266	663,091	28.2%
Baltimore, Md.	165,843	859,100	19.3%
Detroit, Mich.	149,119	1,623,452	9.2%
New Orleans, La.	149,034	494,537	30.1%
Memphis, Tenn.	121,498	292,942	41.5%
Birmingham, Ala.	108,938	267,583	40.7%
St. Louis, Mo.	108,765	816,048	13.3%
Atlanta, Ga.	104,533	302,288	34.6%
Houston, Texas	86,302	384,514	22.4%
Cleveland, Ohio	84,504	878,336	9.6%
Los Angeles, Calif.	63,774	1,504,277	4.2%
Pittsburgh, Pa.	62,216	671,659	9.3%
Jacksonville, Fla.	61,782	173,065	35.7%
Richmond, Va.	61,251	193,042	31.7%
Cincinnati, Ohio	55,593	455,610	12.2%
Indianapolis, Ind.	51,142	386,972	13.2%
Dallas, Texas	50,407	294,734	17.1%
Nashville, Tenn.	47,318	167,402	28.3%
Louisville, Ky.	47,158	319,077	14.8%
Norfolk, Va.	45,893	144,332	31.8%
Newark, N. J.	45,760	429,760	10.6%
Savannah, Ga.	43,237	95,996	45.0%
Kansas City, Mo.	41,574	399,178	10.4%
Miami, Fla.	36,857	172,172	21.4%
Chattanooga, Tenn.	36,404	128,163	28.4%
Winston-Salem, N. C.	36,018	79,815	45.1%

Shreveport, La.	35,975	98,167	36.6%
Columbus, Ohio	35,765	306,087	11.7%
Montgomery, Ala.	34,535	78,084	44.2%
Charleston, S. C.	31,765	71,275	44.5%
Charlotte, N. C.	31,403	100,899	31.1%
Mobile, Ala.	29,046	78,720	36.9%
Augusta, Ga.	27,004	65,919	40.9%
Macon, Ga.	25,604	57,865	44.2%
Fort Worth, Texas....	25,254	177,662	14.2%

NEGRO MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

During the 1930's there was a constant moving migration of Negroes from southern farms to both southern and northern cities. The following table shows the Negro population in urban, rural-nonfarm and rural farm sections in the year 1930 compared to 1940.

Area	1940	1930	Percent of increase, 1930 to 1940
United States	12,865,518	11,891,143	8.2
Urban	6,243,588	5,193,913	20.4
Rural-nonfarm	2,109,630	2,016,707	4.6
Rural-farm	4,502,300	4,680,523	-3.8
The North	2,790,193	2,409,219	15.8
Urban	2,495,637	2,128,329	17.3
Rural-nonfarm	220,893	215,289	2.6
Rural-farm	73,663	65,601	12.3
The South	9,904,619	9,361,577	5.8
Urban	3,616,118	2,966,325	21.9
Rural-nonfarm	1,866,909	1,786,466	4.5
Rural-farm	4,421,592	4,608,786	-4.1
The West	170,706	120,347	41.8
Urban	141,833	99,259	42.9
Rural-nonfarm	21,828	14,952	46.0
Rural-farm	7,045	6,136	14.8

FARM OPERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

	1940	1930	
All classes	6,096,799	6,288,648	-3.1%
Whites	5,377,728	5,372,578	+1.0%
Negro	681,790	882,850	-22.8%
Indian	29,742	26,817	+10.9%
Japanese	6,978	5,840	+19.5%
Others	561	453	

Of these 672,714 Negro farms are in the South.

In North Increased .08%. In South Decreased 17.0%.

NEGRO FARMS

	South	Non-white Full Owners	Non-white Part Owners	
	1930	1940	1930	1940
Average acreage per farm	64.1	58.7	59.5	68.3
Average value per acre	\$ 29.19	\$ 23.91	\$ 30.87	\$ 23.84
Average value per farm	\$1,872.00	\$1,403.00	\$1,835.00	\$1,628.00

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Negro Occupations—Professional and Semi-professional

Physicians and Surgeons	3,395
Dentists	1,463
Actors	229
Architects	80
Authors, Editors, Reporters	391
College Presidents, professors and instructors	1,408
Trained Nurses	121
Lawyers and Judges	1,013
Civil Engineers	95
Electrical Engineers	79
Social and Welfare Workers	916
Teachers and County Agents	13,585
Musicians and Music Teachers	4,983
Clergymen	17,105
Other Semi-professional workers	5,263

53,312

Total Number of Negroes Employed—14 years or over
(except on WPA, NYA and CC).

Male 3,118,642

Females 1,580,843

4,699,485

SOME OF THE MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE LABOR
FORCE—CENSUS 1940

	Employed		Unemployed and Seeking Work	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Professional and Semi-Professional	1,818,233	53,312	78,686	4,362
Proprietors, Managers and officials	3,274,630	37,240	77,165	1,600
Clerical, Sales, etc.	4,293,096	58,557	311,849	6,092
Craftsmen, Foremen, etc.	4,814,237	129,736	559,210	23,416

Farmers, farm laborers and other laborers comprise 62.2% of all employed Negro men and only 28.5% of white men. Only 5% of employed Negro men compared to 30% white are engaged in professional, semi-professional, proprietary, managerial, clerical or sales occupations. Skilled craftsmen employed 15.6% of white and 4.4% of Negro men. More than half of the latter were mechanics, carpenters, painters, plasterers, masons and cement finishers.

70% of employed Negro women as compared with 22.4% white women were engaged in service occupations. Clerical and sales workers constituted almost 1-3 of employed white women and only about 1% of employed Negro women. White women operatives 20.3%—Negro 6.2%. Almost 16 of employed Negro women and only 2% of white were farmers or farm laborers.

CHAPTER IX.

PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITES AND NEGROES

THERE are several varieties of *homo sapiens*. Some differ so from others that they might be classified as separate species. In fact, the physical differences between the Caucasian and the Negro are so great and the points of difference so many that the Negro would indeed be considered a separate species except for the fact that the two races interbreed. In the differentiation of species a fundamental requirement is that one species cannot produce hybrids with another. However, from Mavor (General Biology—McMillan, 1941) we learn that many forms that have been universally accepted as true species produce fertile hybrids. He points out that attempts have been made to separate mankind into several species of the genus *homo*. E. A. Hooton in "Up from the Ape" says: "All existing forms of man are usually included in one species, *homo sapiens*, although the differences between the several races are quite as marked as usually serve to distinguish species in other animals."

As some of these differences are striking, such as the black skin of the Negro or the yellow skin of the Mongolian, when compared to the white skin of the Caucasian, and, as there are numerous other differences, it might well be possible that physically one race holds superiority over another. On the other hand, one race may be inferior in some qualities and superior in another. One may exhibit better physical endurance under prolonged exertion and yet show a lower resistance to certain diseases. The fact that there are differences shows that races are not all equal in every respect. It is difficult to prove that the Chinese are stronger physically than Negroes, or that Caucasians are stronger than the Chinese. Or the other way round. But that there are marked variations of bodily forms and structure, proves that there are physiological inequalities among races.

Because there are so many different "races," or varieties, of mankind, numbering from three to twenty-six, depending upon the school of anthropology to which one belongs, it would be difficult to make detailed comparisons between them. Not one volume but several volumes would be required to record these comparisons.

Furthermore, no extensive study has been made of the biology, anthropometry and the mental characteristics of all the racial varieties in the world. In fact, such studies have been made of very few of them.

If we limit our races to three, the white, the yellow and the black, or the Caucasian, Mongoloid and Negroid, we can make our comparison between the two races showing the greatest difference, that is, the Caucasian and the Negroid, or between the European white races and the African Negroes and their descendants in the United States.

It must be pointed out that most of the Negroes in the United States vary considerably in type from their African ancestors* because of the admixture of white blood. Herskovits claims that only twenty percent of American Negroes are of pure African stock. He says that the other eighty percent have some proportion of Indian or white blood in them. I believe his estimate to be wrong, but we know that a great many Negroes do have some portion of white blood.†

Because of this fact comparisons made by various anthropologists of Negroes and whites in their study of the Negro race must be modified. In the United States it is customary to term any one with a slight portion of Negro blood a Negro. An anatomist studying a Negro skeleton, without knowing the degree of white blood in the body from which the skeleton was taken, his measurements showing a slight difference or none at all between it and that of a white man, might arrive at an erroneous conclusion.

The physical differences between the white man and the Negro are numerous and sometimes striking. They exist in the embryo as early in its development as the human form can be recognized.

* "Their hair is black, and is always of a wooly texture. The inhabitants of the swamps, the dark forests, and the mountains are flat nosed, long-armed, thin-calved, with mouths like muzzles, broad splay feet, and projecting heels. It was for the most part from this class that the American slave markets were supplied."—Winwood Reade—"Martyrdom of Man."

† The subjects for Herskovits' study were mostly from cities where the mulattoes form a larger part of the Negro population. Had he gone out into the highways and by-ways of the deep South, he would have found a much larger proportion of pure Negro stock. In the United States a new race is being formed, and, if segregation continues, it is only a question of time before all American Negroes will have at least a small proportion of white blood.

The Negro has a dark skin; long limbs; frizzly hair; a flat nose; wide, large and everted lips; and a prognathous jaw, which "sticks out" like that of an ape.* Guenevalt in 1837 listed forty-seven differences between the anatomy of the Negro and the white man. Nearly one hundred years later, Dowd in 1926 found twenty-five such differences. There has, of course, been no change in the physiologies of the two races, but instruments for measuring have been improved, as well as scientific technique.

Up until ten years ago only six anthropometric studies of the American Negro had been made. Among them was that of Davenport and Love who in 1921 measured a large group of army men—93,185 white soldiers (including all other races) and 6,264 Negro soldiers. But there have been hundreds of studies of the physiology, osteology and the cranium of the Negro.

A hurried summary of the Negro's physical peculiarities might be in order, as the extent of these differences is not generally known, and they have a bearing on the question of the inferiority of the race. All differences cannot, of course, be enumerated.

It must be remembered that the physical differences are best exemplified in the pure African Negro. They are often changed or modified by crossing with the white race, and as the proportion of white blood increases peculiarities of structure, form and the dark color tend to disappear.

We will begin with skeletal differences, the bones showing a large amount of variation between the races.

THE LIMBS

The Negro's arm is long compared to his leg. His forearm is longer in comparison with that of the white man. The thigh of a Negro is likewise shorter in proportion to the lower leg. That is to say, the humerus and the femur of the Negro are shorter than these same bones in the white man.† The axial rotation of the

* This description of a negress is from Virgil: "In the meanwhile he calls Cybale. She was his only [house] keeper. African by race, her whole face attesting her father-land: with crisped hair, swelling lip, and blackish complexion; broad in chest, with pendent dugs, [and] very contracted paunch; her spindle-shanks [contrasted with her] enormous feet; and her cracked heels were stiffened by perpetual clefts."

† "No human race possesses simian proportion, but races with short stature, long trunks, long arms, and short legs are closest to the anthropoid type."—E. A. Hooton "Up From the Ape (McMillan 1931) Page 249.

humerus of the Negro is greater. The neck of the femur is set out, and lies at an oblique angle. The tibia is more curved and shows a greater tendency to lateral flattening. The hands and feet are longer and narrower. The calcaneum, the great bone of the heel, is longer and projects backwards. Among apes and lower groups—monkeys and lemurs—the heel bone projects in this manner. The calves of the legs are slimmer. The finger nails are shorter.

THE SKULL

The skull of a pure Negro is dolicocephalic. This means that the width of the skull is narrow in proportion to its length. He has a narrow head with a low round forehead. The average Negro's skull is not only smaller, but thicker than that of the average white.*

The skull of a Negro is so different from that of the white that a craniologist can easily identify it as belonging to a Negro.

Another peculiar feature of the Negro's skull is the fact that the sutures close quite early in life, whereas the sutures in the skull of a white man do not close until late in life. It used to be said that the sutures in the skull of an anthropoid ape are obliterated at the age of twelve, in a Negro when he is twenty, and in a Caucasian when he is forty. It would be difficult to prove the exactness of this statement. But it is believed by many authorities that the sutures in the skull of a white man close later in life, about the age of forty or even at a greater age, than the Negro skull sutures.

The early closing of the sutures prevents the further expansion of the brain.† In this respect the Negro is nearer the anthropoid apes. Todd, however, denies that suture closing is different in Negroes and whites. But he admits that there is a greater variety among Negroes and whites as individuals. It is possible that most of the Negro skulls which he examined were those of mulattoes or near-whites. Thus his conclusion may be invalidated.

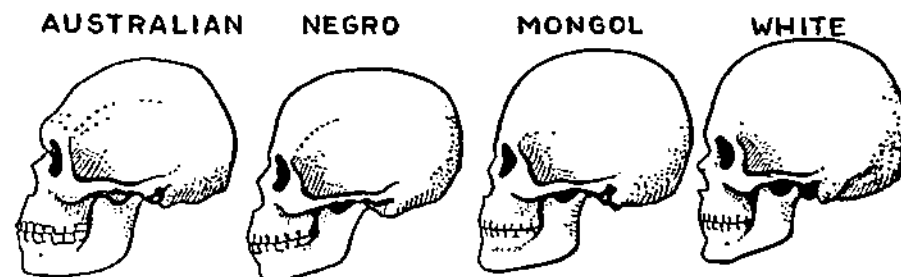
When the brain is growing the sutures remain open. That the frontal sutures close in Negroes before they do in the skulls of whites

* Many jokes are based on this fact. In a fight with a Negro don't try to knock him out by hitting him on the head. Surgeons working in Southern hospitals can testify to the fact of the thickness and hardness of the Negro's skull. It is no longer a "temple divine" but a sort of helmet for resisting blows.

† In 1856 Gratiolet stated that in the Negro "the cranium closes itself on the brain like a prison."

is not disputed by Johnson and Bond. But they deny the implications of this fact, namely, that the Negro is nearer the anthropoid ape, and that the early suture closing affects his mental powers.

In 1928 Hrdlicka compared the skulls of fifty-six full-blooded American Negroes with those of one hundred and twenty-two Negroes from West, East and South Africa. He found a close relation between Negro skulls from widely separated parts of Africa, and an identity to this day between American and African Negroes. He found that a: "Tendency to premature occlusion of the sagittal suture and consequent cranial deformations, especially scaphocephaly, necessitating the elimination of the specimen from anthropometric work, is met with in all groups, but is much more common in the American than in the African Negro." In plain English this means that the early closing of the middle suture of the skull which runs from front to back, causing a slight deformity, which makes the head narrower or more or less boat shaped, so that the specimen can not be measured easily, is found among all groups of Negroes and particularly among American Negroes.



Reproduced from drawing in a "Textbook of General Zoology" by Winterton C. Curtis and Mary J. Guthrie with the permission of the authors as well as the publisher, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., and through the courtesy of Prof. J. H. McGregor.

Four skulls compared. Although much reduced in size there can be observed decided differences in shape. The skull at the left, that of an Australian aborigine, has a very low forehead and as we proceed to the right the fore part of the skull becomes higher. A large fore brain denotes superior intelligence. Sir Arthur Keith writes: "At the present time men look askance on mass of brain, shape of nose, prominence of chin and strength of body as indications of racial or mental superiority. They find, when they apply such generalities to individual cases, that they are so often misled that they have ceased to believe in them. Yet the fact remains that such characters abound most in peoples and nations which are and have been in the vanguard of civilization, the majority of the leaders in every line of life in which progress is being made are of this superior type." (New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man.—W. W. Norton & Co., N. Y.)

Anthropologists and writers, who are trying to show that there is little or no difference between the white and black races, although they quote Hrdlicka frequently as their authority, disagree violently with this particular pronouncement of his.

It is admitted that Negroes have smaller skulls than white people in comparison to the size of their bodies. To measure the cubic contents of the skull accurately is difficult. The old way was to pour shot or peas into the empty skull, and then repour them into a vessel or container shaped so that the cubic contents could be measured accurately and graduated. Comparisons could be made between two skulls as to their size by this method without much trouble. Retzius* in 1864 measured many craniums and found that they varied from sixty cubic inches to 110 cubic inches. Here is his tabulation giving the averages for skull sizes of various races:

Europeans	90.3	cubic inches
Mongolians	87.3	" "
African Negroes	82.4	" "
Australians	79.3	" "

Hrdlicka states that the Negro head is somewhat smaller than that of the white man. ("old American"). He continues: "If in addition the thicker scalp and thicker skull of the male Negro are considered, then the probable size of the brain of the Negro appears decidedly to a disadvantage. The head of the full blooded Negro has a typical form The Negro forehead is bombed or cocoa-nut shaped rather than bilobed. . . . The upper part of the forehead, apparently the total forehead area, and the diameter frontal minimum are smaller in the Negro."

Todd in 1923 issued a report of his study of the cranial capacity and linear dimensions of white and of Negro skulls. He measured with water 167 male and 31 female white skulls; 87 male and 37 female Negroes. He found the following averages:

Male — white	1391	cubic centimeters
Female — white	1232	" "
Male — Negro	1350	" "
Female — Negro	1221	" "

Todd explains these differences: "The cranial capacity in the Reserve (Western Reserve University) material is unexpectedly low" because of the sociological status of the exhibits. That is to say,

* Anders Retzius was the first craniologist and invented the cephalic index.

the skulls came from paupers and the criminal classes. As far as I know there was no way of telling what proportion of the Negro skulls were those of mulattoes or persons almost white. If all the Negro skulls were those of pure Negroes the difference between whites and blacks might have been greater.

THE BRAIN

Measurements made by various anatomists for over one hundred years all show that Negroes have smaller brains than white people. Burmeister (1853) found that the Negro brain averaged ten ounces less than that of the brain of the European.

One of the first important studies on the size of the brain and one that is still quoted authoritatively is that made by Dr. J. B. Hunt of the Negroes and mulattoes of the Union Army during the Civil War. Here is a table taken from his study:

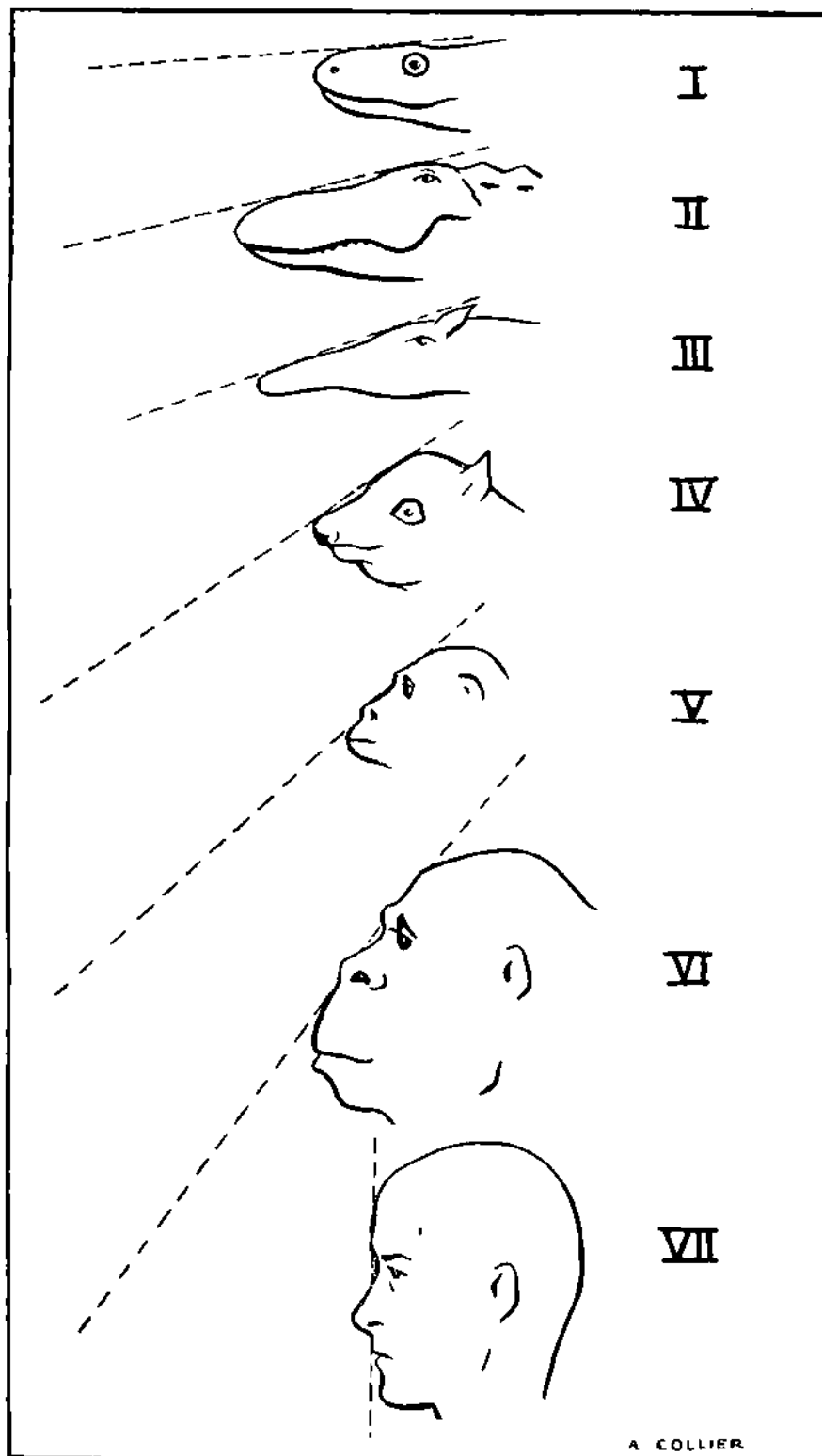
WEIGHT OF BRAIN OF WHITE AND COLORED SOLDIERS

No. of Cases	Degree of Color	Weight of Brain
24	White	1424 grammes
25	$\frac{3}{4}$	1390 "
47	$\frac{1}{2}$	1334 "
51	$\frac{1}{4}$	1319 "
95	$\frac{1}{8}$	1308 "
22	$\frac{1}{16}$	1280 "
141	Pure Negroes	1331 "

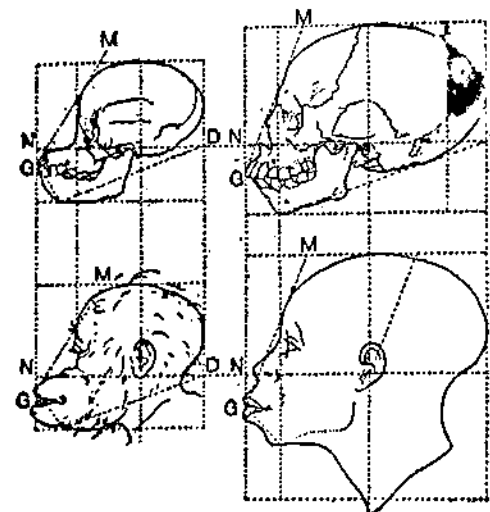
Later on F. L. Hoffman in his famous work, "Race, Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," made a more detailed study of the size of the skull and the weight of the brain of Negroes compared to whites. He found that the brains of Negroes on the average weigh less than those of white people.

In 1906 Dr. R. B. Bean (of John-Hopkins) completed a study of a series of brains of American Negroes and American whites. In a celebrated paper he declared definitely that the brain of the American Negro is smaller than that of the American white. A few years later, however, his findings were contradicted by his associate, Mall, who disagreed violently with him. In 1914 Bean wrote another report in which he still maintained that Negro brains are smaller than those of the white—especially the frontal and temporal lobes.

Poynter and Keegan (University of Nebraska—1915) studied sixteen Negro brains. They reported: "The general characteristic



THE FACIAL ANGLE



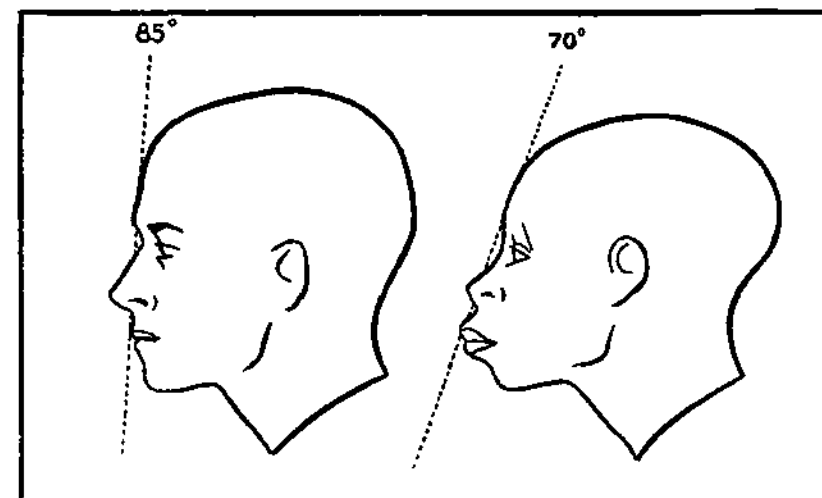
The skull and head of a young orang-utan, and of a Negro, showing the lines including the facial angle (MGND) devised by Pieter Camper.

The diagram is from the 11th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, and is reproduced here by special permission.

The facial angle was invented by Pieter Camper, who wrote: "The two extremities of the facial line are from 70 to 80 degrees from the negro to the Grecian antique: make it under 70, and you describe an ourang or an ape: lessen it still more, and you have the head of a dog. Increase the minimum, and you form a fowl, a snipe for example, the facial line of which is nearly parallel with the horizon."

The diagram on the opposite page shows that as the snout decreases in length the brain case increases in size and elevation, the facial angle decreases, and the jaw becomes smaller and more receding. For comparative purposes the artist has shown: I, Snake; II, Alligator; III, Anteater; IV, Lemur; V, Spider Monkey (new world); VI, Gorilla; VII, Man.

Brain development accompanies that of the cranium. The brain of the fish is very small compared to the spinal cord. In reptiles the mass of the brain increases in relation to the spinal cord and the cerebral hemisphere begins to predominate over other parts. This increases in birds, next in marsupials, and so on up to Man. It is interesting to note that in the lower mammals the surface of the cerebrum is smooth with few grooves. As we ascend the scale the convolutions become more numerous and complicated.



The Caucasian facial angle compared with that of the Negro.

of the Negro brain which has been remarked by a number of observers is the prominent parietal lobe to the 'ill filled' frontal region. . . . There is an essential difference between the Negro and the Caucasian brain."

Poynter wrote again in 1917: "When we take into consideration all of the relative characteristics of the Negro brain, we may conclude that while it does not necessarily suggest a closer relation to the apes, it is not as highly developed as other races observed and is consequently inferior to them."

Ball and Wilder criticized both Bean and Poynter's conclusions, but Kaffers of Amsterdam (1929) seems to agree with Bean.

The frontal lobes in the brain of white people are developed to a greater extent than in the Negroes. As the front part of the brain is the seat of consciousness, where intellect, memory, judgment and conscience are located—hence we have the term "high brow" to describe an intellectual person—and as the fore skull of a Negro is round and often low and receding, it would be logical to assume that the size and shape of his brain affects his mentality and makes it inferior to that of the white.

Finally, Vint says: "The cortex of the African brain is thinner than the Caucasian." Dr. Lewis in "A Biology of the Negro" agrees that this is true except in the "Lominas." Modern psychologists believe that the cells of the cortex of the brain,* numbering some nine billions, are the cells that perform all the mental functions. This being the case, if the cortex of the Negro brain is thinner it must contain less cells, and his brain must be inferior to that of a white person.

THE JAW

The jaw of the pure Negro protrudes. It is prognathous, and here the Negro resembles the anthropoid apes. As animals rise higher in the scale of evolution, the snout or jaw recedes, the eyes come further forward and the face becomes shorter. The size of the jaw influences the size of the brain, because the brain develops at the expense of the jaw.

* "Man has a larger and heavier brain than any of the other animals except the elephant and the whale, and there is not the shadow of a doubt that human intelligence, individually and collectively, is most intimately related to extension of motor, sensory, and association areas in the brain cortex."—E. A. Hooten "Up From the Ape"—McMillan (1931).

THE NOSE

The nose of the Negro is flat with wide nostrils. There is a great difference between whites and blacks in the structure of the nasal cartilages. The sinuses about the face are smaller than in white people, and are protected by a thicker casing. The Negro's nose is one of his most distinctive features, and again in this respect he comes nearer to the great apes.

THE EAR

The ear of the Negro is smaller in proportion than the ears of whites. It gives evidence of regressive evolution. The inrolling of the helix is conspicuous in Negroes. The prevalence of "Darwin's point," or the small tip of the ears which turns in—a vestigial reminder of the pointed ears of the rabbit or horse, shows a closer affinity to the earlier forms of life. The auditory canal in the Negro ear is straighter and larger than in the white. Dr. Matas says: "In fact, the peculiar straightness of the auditory canal in the Negro is so strongly typical that it is one of the last traits to be lost in approximating the Caucasian type and for this reason it is noticeable in nearly all mulattoes."

THE EYE

The peculiarity of the eye is the intense pigmentation of the uveal tract including the iris and ciliary body. Negro eyes are always black.* The Negro eye does not have the peculiar slant of the Mongolian or the fold under the eyelid that is characteristic of the yellow race.

It was believed that, as with Indians, Negroes could see better at a distance because their eyes were used to forests and jungles, but this is no longer thought to be true.

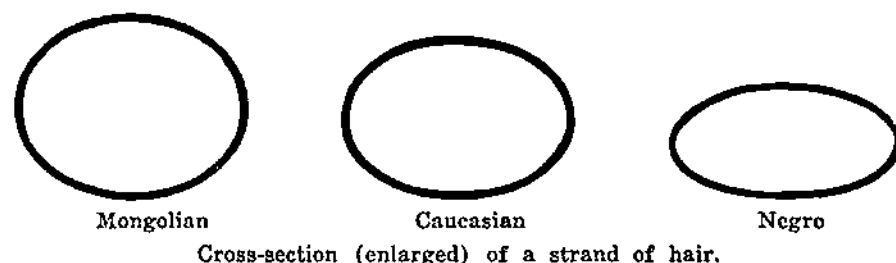
THE MOUTH

The mouth of the Negro is larger comparatively than that of Caucasians. The lips are thick and everted, that is, they turn outward. The mouth is a distinctive feature, and it is a dominant characteristic in that when the color of the skin has been lightened by race mixing and the hair has become straight or wavy, the mouth with the nose is enough to identify its possessor as a Negro.

* Blue, grey or green eyes are typically European. The eyes of the apes and all animals are black or brown, certainly this is true of the higher mammals. Cats and rabbits have light eyes, but I cannot think of any others.

THE HAIR

The hair of the Negro is one of his most distinctive features. It is kinky or woolly. In the pure Negro it is black, and curls up in small balls in a sort of a peppercorn effect. The hair of the Caucasian is wavy and soft and of various shades of color. The hair of the Mongolian is straight and black.* The Negro's hair is "flat," and a single hair projects from the hair follicles at an angle which gives it a tendency to curl up in a compact ball. It has no canal.



The white race is bountifully supplied with hair, the head hair of the females being long and plentiful, and the bodies of the males often very hairy. Mongolians have long hair on the head. Their bodies have less hair than Caucasians. Negroes are glabrous, that is to say, their skin is smooth and velvety without hair.†

In the matter of body hair the Negro is farthest removed from the great apes, since they are hairy animals, but this is the only point in which the white race is nearer the anthropoids. Negro propagandists have made a great issue of this point. Just why in this respect the Negro should be farthest removed from the apes I do not know,‡ but it may be due to some mutation or some divergence that is as unexplainable as that which produced hairless dogs of Central Africa—the African greyhound. Most dogs have hair, and some of them plenty of it, but there are a few breeds in China, Mexico, Central America and India that haven't any hair at all.

* Some ethnologists divide mankind into three races distinguished by the three kinds of hair.

† Danforth studied a large series of digits. The Indian, the Japanese and the Negro are freer of hair on the digits than whites.

‡ One writer suggests that Negroes have less hair because in the tropics it was necessary to get rid of lice.

The same cause that brought this about might have operated upon Negroes and left them in their almost hairless condition.

It is strange when you think of it that the very point upon which Negroes depart farthest from a resemblance to apes is the one that they are least proud of. They are always trying to grow long hair or make their hair longer by straightening it. To this end they use hair straighteners, and consume much time endeavoring to produce hair that is as near as possible to that of white people.

THE SKIN

So striking is the effect of pigmentation that the races of mankind have been classified according to their skin color; namely, the White, the Yellow, the Brown, the Red and the Black. This is not an accurate classification, since skin color varies in all races and the skin of the white race ranges from a rather dark or a sallow complexion to a light "peaches and cream" skin found among the so-called Nordics. In fact, it is claimed that certain peoples of India are "dark" Caucasians. In skin color they appear negroid or like the Malays, but they do not resemble these races in other features such as hair, nose, lips, or prognathous jaw.

Why do Negroes have a black skin? Which came first whites or blacks? These questions are indeed puzzling to anthropologists, ethnologists, biologists and men of science.

Answering the second question first, it would seem that the ancestors of Man were dark skinned so that the "black" race would be the elemental one. And yet, of proto human types, the white species may have branched off first and evolved higher. That negroids are descended from a white race, and became darkened in the tropics is not plausible. Even Voltaire nearly two hundred years ago sensed this when he said: "The first white man who beheld a Negro must have been greatly astonished; but the reasoner who claims that the Negro comes from the white man astonishes me a great deal more."

Hooton in "Up from the Ape" (McMillan, 1931) says in this connection: "Many anthropologists think that the earliest types of man were dark skinned, because most of the primates are rather heavily pigmented, and the races of man which today show the largest proportion of primitive characteristics are generally 'colored'."

Now why Negroes have a dark skin, we do not know except that they are closer related to more primitive forms. One writer states that "Natives of various countries are naturally pigmented roughly proportioned to the intensity of the sunlight in the places where they are indigenous." If this were so the Eskimos would be as white as the snow in which they live constantly, and even Japanese and Chinese would be white, not yellow. South American Indians near the Equator would be black, while those in North America and in the region of Patagonia would be pale skinned. Above all, the Australian aborigines, a most primitive people and inhabitants of that continent for untold ages, would be light skinned because the climate is temperate and not tropical.

A. C. Haddon (in "Races of Man") doubts that the color of the skin is caused by the climate. He points out that the natives of Australia are dark with flat noses and they, of course, live in the South Temperate Zone. He says: "We may conclude that variations in pigmentation arose spontaneously independently of the action of environment, at a period perhaps when variability and mutations were more prone to occur, and that the deeply pigmented individuals being more fitted to sustain tropical conditions at length outlived the rest."

Negroes are not so exposed to sunlight as one might think. In Africa they live in forests and jungles—they keep out of the sun. Also in the Southern part of the United States, they are more easily affected by sunstrokes—they cannot stand the sun as well as whites. Furthermore, a black skin should be a handicap in the sun, as black absorbs heat and white reflects it. C. J. Martin in the *Lancet* (1930) showed that the skin of a Negro absorbs 84% of the sun's rays as contrasted with the skin of a white man which absorbs only 57%. Another writer, Aitken in the *British Journal of Physical Medicine*, says that the pigment in a Negro's skin is not a defense against heat rays or ultra violet rays.

It is doubtful that the Negro's skin color is due to climatic conditions.

The skin of the Negro varies from dark brown to a deep black. Some of the negroid peoples of Africa—such as the Hottentots and the Bushmen—who are supposed to be intermixed with white stocks, are sometimes darker than pure Negroes from the Guinea Coast. Since skin color is probably the most striking feature that greets

the eye, it is the one feature that Negroes themselves despise most. And one cannot blame them. The leopard cannot change his spots except by breeding them out, and by diluting his blood with that of other races.* It is natural for Negroes to envy those possessing a white skin. As a writer years ago said, "to this [race—Caucasian] exclusively belongs the soft spreading 'blush', the faithful index of the heart, which a European writer has erroneously made a moral as well as a physical difference between the races, to this race belongs redness of the cheeks."

The Negro's skin is thicker. As far as I know, no one has attempted to measure the thickness of a Negro's skin and compare its thickness with that of a white man. Dr. Rudolph Matas of New Orleans states positively that the skin of a Negro is thicker, especially the subcutaneous layer. He asserts also that the sebaceous glands are excessively active, and give to the skin of a healthy Negro a peculiar oily lustre as well as a distinctive odor noticed among Negroes. This odor is strongest in the most robust and is quickly diminished by disease.

The Negro skin is particularly susceptible to keloids. A "keloid" is a scar, or the white or pinkish ridge of tissue which grows out of a wound like a mushroom excrescence from a crack in a rock. Negroes in Africa use this cicatrization for ornamental purposes, or to identify members of their tribes. Says Dr. Matas "the forehead, temples and cheeks are thus purposely scarred."† In the old slave days it was very common to see African Negroes with their characteristic tribal markings on the face.

One of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Negro skin is the appearance in infancy of sacral spots, also known as Mongolian spots, because they are found in all colored races including the Japanese and the Chinese. In Brazil they are called "manches." The sacral spots are bluish-grey spots on the back, buttocks or even shoulders of Negro babies when they are born. 90% of all Negro babies have them. There is a great difference in the size of the spots, and they disappear a few months after birth.

* Negroes spend many millions of dollars on skin lighteners and powders, some of which are dangerous since they contain mercury or oxides which cause permanent harm.

† The Australian aborigines scarred themselves in this manner—generally across the abdomen and in women, on the breasts.

ODOR

Some recent writers—for instance John Dollard in his book, "Caste and Class in A Southern Town"—in discussing the characteristics of the Negro have gone so far as to state that there is no such thing as a "Negro odor" any more than there is an odor peculiar to the Japanese or to the Chinese. They say that filthy habits and the lack of the use of soap will always produce body odors that are, to say the least, unpleasant. However, there is a distinctive odor which is peculiar to Negroes.* Undoubtedly those with diluted Negro blood, or who are almost white, do not have it, but among pure Negroes it is observable. Thousands of Southern people who come in contact daily with Negroes know that this pungent, disagreeable odor is a racial feature and that it is not due to lack of cleanliness, although non-use of soap may exaggerate it. The Encyclopedia Britannica, edition 1937, asserts that the skin of the true Negro has a characteristic odor. Just why this is so we do not know, but Homma (John Hopkins, 1926) has made some study of this subject, and has found that the Negro has three times more apocrine sweat glands than whites. The apocrines are the large

* While visiting Charleston in 1862 friends took W. H. Russell, famous correspondent of the London Times, on a trip to catch drum fish. In the course of this adventure he and others of the party were carried on the backs of Negroes from the shore to a boat. Russell wrote in his diary: "I only mention this to record the fact that I was much impressed by a practical demonstration from my bearer respecting the strong odor of the skin of a heated African. I have been wedged up in a column of infantry on a hot day, and have marched to leeward of Ghorkhas in India, but the overpowering pungent smell of the Negro exceeds everything of the kind I have been unfortunate enough to experience."

Pierson observes that the mixed bloods in Bahia use perfume extravagantly to overcome the body odor characteristic of the African.

Lafcadio Hearn wrote a book on the odor of Negro women. The book was never published and the manuscript was lost.

Lepage Du Pratz who lived in Louisiana for sixteen years (1718 to 1734) in his History comments on the odor of Negroes. He says that "the smell is natural to some nations of Negroes, such as the Congos, the Angolas, the Aradas and others." He advises that the Negroes be lodged at a distance so that their odor will not be offensive. From his observation it would seem that Negroes from certain parts of Africa are more apt to have the peculiar negroid odor than others. This may be the reason why some Negroes today seem to have the odor and others whose ancestors came from other African tribes do not.

sweat glands in the hair follicles of the arm pits, the breasts and genital regions. Schiefferdecker thinks that the apocrines have a sexual significance. The odor, then, may be a secondary sexual characteristic.

THE VOICE

The voice of the Negro has not received much comment, but from observation it would seem that his voice is different from that of white people. There is a certain timbre about it that is peculiarly noticeable in chorus singing, and in a female singer. The writer even detects this peculiarity in the well trained voice of Marian Anderson.

DISEASES AND INFECTIONS

In his well-known paper on the subject of the peculiarities of the American Negro which Dr. Matas wrote nearly fifty years ago, he listed many differences between Negroes and whites. Dr. Matas concluded that there was no difference on the operating table—that surgically at least the races were equal. However, there was an emotional and psychological difference noted in hospital cases. Dr. Matas quotes Dr. Carson, who said of Negroes in surgical operations, "that they reveal the apathy, the indifference to make the struggle for life which is such a strong psychical trait of the race."

Two hundred years ago Negroes had yaws and elephantiasis—these last afflictions still being common in the West Indies. The Negro was immune to malaria, yellow fever and diphtheria. Today he does not have his peculiar diseases, such as yaws, but his immunity to malaria and the diseases of the white man has also disappeared. However, many believe that the Negro is still as a race more susceptible to some diseases than are white people. For instance, tuberculosis seems to be the arch enemy of the race and latterly heart disease.* Among Negroes today tuberculosis progresses faster and is more fatal. It is claimed by some sociologists that their susceptibility to tuberculosis is not a result of racial deficiency but caused by poverty, poor diet and ignorance. Not all agree. Mavor (General Biology, McMillan, 1941) says: "Natural immunity is something a person is born with. For example, it is known that individuals of the white race are in general more re-

* Pierson says: "There is some evidence, however, that the Brazilian mixed blood is less resistant than the European and the black to certain diseases, for example, tuberculosis." ("The Negro in Brazil"—Page 124.)

sistant to tuberculosis than the Negro; while on the other hand, the Negro is more resistant to malaria than the white man." But it seems that the Negroes are particularly susceptible to diseases of the lungs such as tuberculosis, pneumonia and pleurisy. They are also decidedly affected by venereal diseases and particularly syphilis, which is three times more fatal among them than among the whites.

Today when the tendency is to maintain the theory that mulattoes show hybrid vigor instead of hybrid weakness the opinion of a writer of fifty years ago may not seem pertinent. Nevertheless the following observation by Dr. Matas is interesting: "Mulattoes, especially those of Anglo-Saxon crossing have not the strength and endurance of either of the pure races. It is certain that they are much more liable to hereditary diseases, especially tuberculosis and syphilis."*

MUSCULAR SYSTEM

There is not much difference between the muscular system of Negroes and whites. Ernest Huber who spent many years studying the subject says that there is a difference in the facial muscles of whites and Negroes. The muscles around the mouth in the Negro are coarse, and in whites they are of a delicate construction. He points out that the faces of whites are more responsive and that around the mouth there is "a great range of varied expressions with many modulations. The mouth even when closed many serve as an admirable index of character." Huber does not believe that we can find equally fine modulations of expression in the face of the Negro. He says "the less differentiated, coarsely bundled mimetic musculature typical of the Negro and the greater thickness of the skin render this improbable. In fact there is a marked difference in facial expression compared with the white. . . . Instead of a graded laugh typical of the white we notice the characteristic grinning of the Negro."

Thompson, Batts & Denforth (1925 St. Louis) in an examination of 1201 whites and 318 Negroes found that the *Palsus Longus*, a muscle of little functional importance in the forearm, was absent in 19.5% of males and 29 1/7% in the female among whites. Among Negroes it was absent 2.5% for males and 7.6% for females. As the muscle is almost vestigial the fact that it is found frequently in Negroes would tend to prove that they are more primitive.

* "Surgical Peculiarities of the American Negro" by Dr. Rudolph Matas.

There are many other differences and physical characteristics peculiar to Negroes. The spleen, liver and kidneys weigh less. The pelvis is longer, narrower and smaller. A small pelvis is characteristic of the great apes. The three facial openings—the orbits, nose and mouth—are larger, providing a better sight, a better sense of smell, and the intake of food in larger gulps. Generally Negroes are slightly lower in height than whites. Their respiration is faster. The great toe is shorter. The three curves of the spine are less pronounced. The thorax is flatter from side to side. The papillary patterns of the fingers are different. Common to African Negroes, particularly Bushmen and Hottentots and not found elsewhere, is *steatopygy*—an accumulation of fat around the buttocks. In Africa the women have conical breasts instead of hemispherical as with white women. Cathartics do not act upon the bowels as with whites—it requires upon the average a 50% larger dose.

CONCLUSION

The great number of physical differences between the Negro and the Caucasian, the vestigial character of some, and the possession of opposite characteristics point to the conclusion that the Negro is an arrested development in the evolutionary process. In his physical makeup the Negro is undoubtedly nearer to the anthropoid apes. This similarity to the simians is more striking in the embryo, but is obvious in adult life. Recently Ashley Montagu wrote in a pamphlet:

If some of our racists would take the trouble to visit their local zoo, and for a moment drop their air of superiority and take a dispassionate look at either one of these apes (gorilla or chimpanzee), they would find the hair of these creatures is lank, that their lips are thin, and their body is profusely covered with hair. In these characters the white man stands nearer to the apes than does the Negro. Is the white man then, for this reason, to be judged inferior to the Negro? Surely not.

But I ask, "Did you, when visiting the zoo, ever see a pure blooded Negro looking at a great ape?" If so, you would have noticed a resemblance between the two, regardless of the absence of hair in the former. So startling is the resemblance in some instances that it is in fact a visual demonstration of the theory of evolution. The features of the typical African Negro—low forehead, flat wide nose and prognathous jaw—closely resemble those of the giant apes.

Two opinions a hundred years apart attest to the inferiority of Negroes. From Lawrence's "Physiology" (London, 1822):

In all the particulars just enumerated, the Negro structure approximates unequivocally to that of the monkey. It not only differs from the Caucasian model, but is distinguished from it in two respects: the intellectual characters are reduced, the animal features enlarged and exaggerated.

In the Encyclopedia Britannica, eleventh edition, is found this statement:

In certain of these characteristics the Negro stands on a lower evolutionary plane than the white man, and is closely related to the highest anthropoids. The characteristics are length of arm, prognathism, a heavy massive cranium with large zygomatic arches, flat nose depressed at base and the tendency of the frontal bones to fuse together and form an eminence of peculiar shape. But in respect to the character of the hair, the white man stands in closer relation to the higher apes than does the Negro.

Whether one agrees with these two conclusions or not, one must admit that wide physical differences exist between the Negro and the Caucasian. These differences can most probably be resolved into the proposition that the white race has advanced farther evolutionally and is therefore the superior race.

CHAPTER X.

MENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITES AND NEGROES

UNTIL recently racial intelligence was believed to vary in accordance with the color of the skin. Races were graded as to mental capacity from the white race—the lightest—at the top down to the black race—the darkest—at the bottom of the scale. Although it seems to accord with the fact, it is a thoroughly unscientific classification.

Psychologists, however, have devised in recent years a method of measuring intelligence. They have now so refined and perfected their technique that, while a test can measure only approximately the mental stature of an individual, the result is accurate enough to give a fairly good picture of his intellectual capacity.

Attempts have been made to compare the intelligence of one race with another, particularly the Caucasian with the Negro. And over thirty important studies made in the United States, some of them based on "series" that run into thousands, are on record. Similar studies have not been made of Japanese, Chinese, Malaysians, Hindus and Polynesians in their countries except in a limited way.

In the United States representatives of these last named races may be found in small numbers, and some of them have been "tested" along with native whites and Negroes, but, generally speaking, there have been no intelligence tests, let us say, given the Chinese in China with the intent to compare them with tests made of the French in France.

The conclusions drawn from intelligence testing in the United States have not gone unchallenged. Propagandists of the Negro race are now saying flatly that there is no difference between the mentality of a white person and a Negro, that is, on the average. In other words, Negroes as a race are just as intelligent as white people. Such a proposition is based on a modification of the facts brought out in the tests by introducing factors not considered by the tester. In such manner the results are made to appear different from what they are. Other plausible arguments are advanced.

But to an unprejudiced mind the extensive studies made of the intelligence of the Negro in the United States prove conclusively that Negroes are not the mental equals of white people.

Again we come to the definition of a term. What is intelligence? Does it consist of the ability to assimilate information, remember the facts assimilated, and to rationalize about them? One man might be able to "size up" another psychologically and be quick to observe, but still not be capable of working out simple mathematical problems or mastering the courses taught in the first year of high school. The Century Dictionary defines *intelligence* as:

1. The quality of being intelligent, understanding; power of cognition.
2. Cultivated understanding; acquired knowledge; information stored in the mind.

Webster's definition is:

1. Endowed with intelligence or intellect.
2. Possessed of, or exhibiting a high or fitting degree of intelligence or understanding; knowing; sensible.

These definitions leave something to be desired. They do not say what intelligence is. It is defined in terms of a few synonyms. A person may be potentially intelligent, he may be a man of parts with quick reactions and yet he may have never learned very much or stored up much information. He may be mentally quick, but lacking in concentration. Another slower in catching an idea, may retain it longer. Some cannot think subjectively, and cannot generalize. And as with every activity in the exercise of intelligence, the determination to learn is important. The personal equation, the memory, the sensorium—seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting—all have a bearing on intelligence.

For this reason it is difficult to measure the intelligence of large groups of people, particularly with respect to the possibility of their acquiring knowledge.

However, the tests used in measuring intelligence show fairly accurately the mental acumen, even of the individual who does not know how to read and write. The Army uses for literates the Alpha test, and for those who cannot read, the Beta test.

Many intelligence tests have been made in the United States in the last twenty-five years. In all of these tests Negroes invariably rate lower than whites. So regular is this showing of mental inferiority that Negroes and those who are pleading their cause have objected to the tests as being inconclusive for the following reasons:

1. That the tests are conducted by white people.
2. That the tests are not suited to colored people.

3. That the tests are unfair to Negroes because their habits and culture are different.

4. That the tests employ aptitudes and tricks that do not fit Negro abilities.

5. That the tests do not take into consideration the social and economic background of the subjects.

These objections have some merit, but we cannot declare that all the intelligence tests mean nothing, and that the conclusions drawn from them are all wrong.

It is claimed that a test conducted by a white person places a Negro subject at a disadvantage. He is ill at ease, or nervous, and feeling his inferiority, he does not do his best. But it may be said, "Isn't any examination given to white students an ordeal that most of them dislike?" A diffident child or one that is afraid of himself, because of his failure to study might be rattled or nervous too. Some people get excited over any kind of test, examination or questioning.

The argument that the tests are not suited to colored people proves too much. If they haven't the intelligence to pass a white man's test, how can they claim to be his equal?

To say that most of the intelligence tests are not adapted to the aptitudes, habits and culture of the Negroes likewise assumes that Negro people are not used to the American way of life, which they claim to be a part of. If their abilities are different, they can then be inferior. If intelligence is a matter of environment then the last objection might be pertinent. But intelligence is inherited, else the chimpanzee living in the same surroundings as the African Negro would be just as smart.

The apologists for the Negroes say that the reason for their poor showing in intelligence tests is a socio-economic one. They point out that the cultural background of those making the low scores is below that of the white children making the high scores. But is this the real cause of the Negro's deficiency?

Intelligence tests reveal that Jewish children rank high in mental capacity. Of twelve geniuses in Miss Hollingworth's study in New York City seven were Jews. In a study made by Terman of bright children in California the Jews were 100% more numerous than the ratio of that race to the general population would allow. There was "a great deficiency of Latin and Negro ancestry" among the gifted children.

Much has been said about the environment of colored people, and how poverty and poor surroundings have affected their I. Q.'s. But, is it not a fact that in New York there is a great deal of poverty among the Jewish immigrants and that the environment from a cultural outlook, to say the least, is discouraging? Yet this has not prevented East Side Jews from making good grades at school or from scoring high I. Q.'s.

Furthermore, a poverty stricken home is not necessarily one which inhibits the development of genius. In fact, many brilliant men have come from such surroundings. Poverty is some times an incentive that urges men to change their condition. It is a spur to their ambition.

Children from the homes of the rich are not always the brightest and the cleverest. In fact it will probably be found that at most universities the boys and girls who drop out of the freshman classes or who do not finish the course come from the well-to-do families. Some of the biggest dullards are rich men's sons. Many of them, of course, do not care to study.

No, the socio-economic background cannot be blamed for all the faults of the Negro race including his failure to rank higher in intelligence tests.

The question of comparing the intelligence of one group to that of another is indeed difficult, since it is often hard to make such comparisons between individuals. For instance, how can one tell a good lawyer from a poor one? As many litigants have found to their sorrow, fine offices do not always make fine lawyers. Some obtain their business and their clients because of their personality and their social connections. The competence of various lawyers cannot be measured scientifically, and it is difficult to prove that one is better than another.

In one lawsuit an indifferent or poorly trained lawyer may win over an efficient and brilliant opponent. But one swallow does not make a summer, and neither does one law case won make a good lawyer. For in no other profession can a man with ability who works hard be surer of rising to the top than that of law. A lawyer of ability wins most of his cases, and soon has many clients and a good income. On the whole the ablest and most competent law firms get the large "accounts" and handle the big cases. This applies to both the criminal and the civil lawyer. One cannot definitely prove the greater ability of one lawyer over another.

Neither can one prove that one surgeon is more proficient or better than another. But nevertheless there is a vast difference in the ability and mental capacity of individuals, and the differences are evidenced by the results of their actions or lack of action.

Likewise, differences in intelligence and in mental ability will be found among races. As these differences must be proved, intelligence tests that fit the simple psychology of masses of people enable us to make comparisons. Here follow summaries of various intelligence tests, and the opinions of psychologists, ethnologists, and scientists on the question of the mental superiority of the Caucasian race.

RESULTS OF SOME INTELLIGENCE TESTS

L. J. Martell (University of Wisconsin, Unpublished Thesis, 1915) gave the Binet test to eighty whites, forty Indians and forty Negroes—all in Wisconsin schools. He said, "according to intelligence as measured by Binet-Simon the races rank according to intelligence: white, Indian and Negro."

J. Peterson made tests on twelve-year-old white and Negro boys in New York, Chicago and Nashville. He used the Stanford-Binet, Meyers Mental Measure, Dodd International Group Test for Mental Ability, Yerkes Point Scale and three ingenuity tests. His conclusion in "Studies in the Comparative Abilities of Whites and Negroes" (1929) was that these numerous tests probably showed the superiority of whites.

F. L. Goodenough (1926) tested 2457 public school children (Negroes and whites) in California, Tennessee and Louisiana, and found that the whites surpassed the Negroes in intelligence (Journal of Experimental Psychology).

W. E. Boots of the University of Wisconsin in his unpublished master thesis, "A Study of the Intelligence of White and Colored Grade School Children, High School Students and College Freshmen", tells of some tests he made in 1926 in Mississippi. He concludes, "Insofar as any mental group tests are valid instruments for measuring intelligence which data show that the intelligence of white pupils in common and high school is far superior to that of Negro pupils."

J. St. Clair Price in an article "The Intelligence of Negro College Freshmen" printed in *School and Society* in 1921 tells of the tests which he made on Negro college men. He writes, "For example, the writer found that on the average, Negro college freshmen ranked lower on a well-known intelligence test than did the whites . . . it is true that none made as high scores as did the whites; in fact, it is generally true that in the published reports the best Negroes never scored as high as the best whites." This submission coming from Price is important since he believes "that there has been no adequate comprehensive measurement of the intelligence of the Negro." And he writes that it is futile to compare whites with Negroes.

Young reported in the *Journal of Comparative Psychology* (1829) a test of 282 white and 272 Negro children in Baton Rouge and Lake Charles, Louisiana. The Negroes were graded according to color. He found: "noticeable degrees of intelligence going from white child to light Negroes and then to dark Negroes . . . the light Negroes were on the average 19.7% more intelligent than the dark Negroes."

Larry Jordan Willie (Phd.) made a Comparative study of the reading achievements of white and Negro Children" in 1939—112 white and 112 colored children in the 7th Grade. The study shows white superiority.*

Miss A. C. Strong in *Pedagogical Seminary* (1913) gave the result of a test she made in Columbia, S. C., from two white schools with 225 white children and one colored school with 125 colored children, using the Binet test. The white children were found to be mentally superior. She found:

	Colored	White
More than 1 year backward	29.4%	10.2%
Satisfactory	69.8%	84.4%
More than 1 year advanced	0.8%	5.3%

* It is generally believed that Negro children are bright when they are young and become duller as they grow older. Garth, Lovelady & Smith in a study of southern Negro children say: "The mental growth line of these Negro children starts at practically the same point as that of the white but steadily lags behind with increasing years." Klineberg says that other studies have come to this same conclusion but he himself doubts it.

Her investigation showed that the colored children were inferior at all ages. The colored children probably included mulattoes and some nearly white.

The Mays & Loram investigations in Washington, D. C., ascertained that colored children did not reach as high grades as did the whites, and, in their opinion, investigations in New York City high schools show a superiority of white students over colored students.

A test made by Miss A. H. Arlitt of Bryn Mawr College in 1920 on several hundred school children in New York showed:

White Americans I. Q.	106
Italians I. Q.	84
Colored People	83

N. D. M. Hirsch in a study of mental differences reported in "Genetic Psychology Monographs" (1926) the result of tests which he gave to 5504 children. He found that the I. Q. averages ranged from 102 for Swedes down to 84.6 for Negroes.

In a test reported in "School and Society" (1930) Garth, Lovelady & Smith, testing 1019 Negro children in Dallas and 987 in Oklahoma, found the median I. Q. to be 77.9.

In 1921 the Government issued a bulletin, "Psychological Examining in the United States Army," edited by Col. Robert M. Yerkes. This gave the results of mental tests conducted during World War I. 1,552,226 men were examined of which 386,196 were given the Beta or illiteracy test. The results showed Negro draftees "far inferior to the whites on all their types of tests used in the Army."

The testees were graded into groups A, B, D, D-- and E grades as a result of the tests. "A" represents the score that four or five percent should reach. "B" represents the next eight or ten percent. "D," "D--" and "E" are at the other end of the scale, and are the basis for discharge or rejection. The Army Alpha was given to over 100,000 men and those making D or less were:

Of English descent	8.7 D or under
Of Polish descent	70.0 D or under
Northern Negroes	45.3 D or under
Southern Negroes	78.7 D or under

Separate tests were made upon groups of full-blooded Negroes and groups of mulattoes and quadroons. "The lighter group made the better scores. . . . Illiterates made a median score of 50. The dark Negroes, 30. The illiterates were 36 and 29—light and dark." Kroeber says that this difference is due to the fact that the mulattoes were house servants in plantation days "befo de wah," and got more culture than the blacks. This reasoning is far fetched. In the first place, house servants in pre-war days were just as apt to be black as part white; and in the second place, three generations have come and gone since the plantation culture was open to colored people, and mulattoes since the Civil War, in the South at least, generally have no better educational advantages than their darker brothers.

Carl C. Brigham, Assistant Professor of Psychology at Princeton University, made an analysis of the Army tests. His conclusions are contained in "A Study of American Intelligence. (Princeton University Press, 1923). Professor Brigham analyzed the tests of 93,973 whites, of whom 67,254 took the Alpha test only and 23,547 took the Beta or Alpha and Beta. He then took 23,604 Negroes of whom 8,429 received the Alpha test, and 14,350 the Beta or Alpha and Beta. He also sampled 15,544 white officers. The tests gave the results shown in the table on the opposite page.

On the combined Scale of 25 the Average was

U. S. White Officers	18.84
English Born Draftees	14.87
Scotland Born	14.34
U. S. White Draftees.....	13.77
Sweden Born	13.30
Austrian Born	12.27
Italian Born	11.01
Polish Born	10.74
U. S. Negro Draftees	10.41

Kroeber (Anthropology, Page 79) concerning the Army intelligence tests, says: "It may be alleged that within the same section the white recruits regularly surpassed the colored. The Alabama whites may rate disappointingly but they do better than Alabama Negroes. New York Negroes show surprisingly well, yet they are inferior to New York whites; illiterate whites from the whole country definitely surpass illiterate Negroes; and still more so among literates."

*Table Giving the Distribution of the Intelligence
Scores on the Combined Scale of 25*

	6 White Officers and	1 White Draftee made		24 to 24.9
106	"	"	Draftees	23 to 23.9
612	"	18	"	22 to 22.9
1648	"	124	and	21 to 21.9
2522	"	444	"	20 to 20.9
2836	"	1006	"	19 to 19.9
2698	"	1804	"	18 to 18.9
2155	"	2996	"	17 to 17.9
1454	"	4687	"	16 to 16.9
837	"	6847	"	15 to 15.9
412	"	9328	"	14 to 14.9
179	"	12,019	"	13 to 13.9
60	"	14,659	"	12 to 12.9
14	"	14,002	"	11 to 11.9
3	"	9,481	"	10 to 10.9
1	"	6,227	"	9 to 9.9
	Officer	4,433	"	

It is not necessary to give the table to the extreme end when the scores go down almost to zero.

In a study already discussed, that of Davenport and Steggerda reported in their "Race Crossing in Jamaica," browns in the mental tests graded lower than the whites or blacks. The proportion of failures was browns, 9.6 percent; blacks, 3.1 percent; whites 2.1 percent. The authors say: "It appears that mental traits which seem to have a genetic basis vary just as morphological traits do." Under the heading "Do Races Differ in Mental Capacity?" they write: "It seems to us the outcome of the present studies is so clear as to warrant the conclusion that they put the burden of proof on the shoulders of those who would deny fundamental differences, on the average, in the mental capacities of Gold Coast Negroes and Europeans."

Popenoe & Johnson in "Applied Eugenics" (New York 1918) discuss the tests made by G. O. Ferguson in three cities of Virginia and say that up until that time it was "the most careful study yet made." The tests were given to 486 white and 421 colored pupils.

Full Blooded Negroes scored	69.2%	as high as whites
Three Quarter Negroes scored	73. %	" " " "
One Half Negroes scored	81.2%	" " " "
One Quarter Negroes scored	91.8%	" " " "

In "Recent Experiments in Psychology" (McGraw-Hill, 1938), Crafts-Schneirla-Robinson & Gilbert give the results of five investigations by five different investigators, on school children in groups of from 900 to 5,000. The results of these investigations showed a remarkable agreement in relative rank of the intellectual achievements of various European races as well as the Spanish, Mexican and Negroes. The Nordics, Alpines, Mediterraneans ranked in the order named with the Mexican Indians and Negroes at the bottom of the list.

Garth's mental tests given to over 1,000 individuals in each group found that full blooded American Indians* have an I. Q. of 68.6, Texas Negroes 75 and Mexicans 78.

* In Hygeia, issue of November 1941, Donald A. Laird, psychologist, answers the question, "Are Indians brainy?" in thus wise: "No. One white child in 100 has a chance of being brainy. One Negro child in 30,000 but practically no Indian child reaches the same standard of braininess."

The cards of inheritance and environment are stacked for the white child against the Negro by a ratio of 300 to 1. The mean I. Q. of Indians is around 69 or 70 that of Negroes 80 to 85 and whites 90 to 100.

Otto Klineberg in "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration" (1935) states that the average I. Q. for southern Negroes obtained in 13 different investigations was 79.6. In eleven studies made of northern Negroes the average was 86.3. A test given 1272 Negro children in Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, showed a median I. Q. of 75.0.

Interesting is Leta Stetter Hollingworth's study of "Children with I. Q.'s Above 180" (Teachers College, Columbia University). In thousands of tests in New York City where the population is densest—the home of writers, artists and intellectual people—she found only twelve children who tested at or about 180. Hundreds were brought to her or "selected" because of their mental gifts. The I. Q. of 180 puts a child in Galton's class X of able persons,* thus placing him plus 11 P. E. from the norm. (One P. E. equals 8 I. Q. according to Terman). This rates him one in a million.

It is interesting to note that out of the twelve children with I. Q.'s of over 180, seven were Jews (two German, one Russian, and one English-Scotch-Irish Jew), two were of Colonial stock, one Scotch-American and two English-American. Here are to be found no Negroes or mulattoes or any of the Caucasian races of southern Europe.

OBSERVATIONS

Doxey A. Wilkerson (Racial Differences in Scholastic Achievement) found that "the achievement of Negro children in elemental and high school subjects is, in general and in most though not all, grades and subjects below that of the white children in the same school system. . . . The disparity between scores of Negro and white children on standard achievement tests is, in general, greater than on standard tests of intelligence."

Rudolph Pintner in "Negro versus White Intelligence" writes: "So far as intelligence testing is concerned we have a great number of studies comparing Negroes and whites. Most of these show the Negro inferior to the white—regardless of what type of intelligence test is used." And "nevertheless, the consistent inferiority of Negro groups in all sorts of samplings would hardly lead one to

* Leta Stetter Hollingworth says that Galton's table classification of men "according to their natural gifts must be regarded as one of the most prescient statements in the history of social science."

expect that all this inferiority would be wiped out, even if ideal samplings of the two racial groups could be tested."

In "Intelligence Testing" (Holt, 1931) Pintner, after summarizing the results of many tests up to 1930, said: "All results show the Negro decidedly inferior to whites on standardized intelligence tests. . . . These results are sufficiently numerous and consistent to point to a racial difference in intelligence."

P. L. Boynton writes in "Intelligence, Its Manifestation and Measurement" (Appleton 1933), "Most studies point so definitely to the superiority of the average white over the average Negro that it would seem justifiable to assume this condition to exist."

Ellsworth Huntington in "Civilization and Climate" (Yale University Press, 1915) says: "So far as I am aware every exact test which has been made on a large scale indicates mental superiority on the part of the white race, even when the two races have equal opportunity."

Lewis M. Terman in his "Measurement of Intelligence" (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915) Page 91 says: "It is interesting to note that M. P. and C. P. [referring to two subjects whose I. Q.'s were 77 and 79 respectively—80 is the I. Q. of a dull or almost feeble minded person] represent the level of intelligence which is very, very common among Spanish-Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among Negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial, or at least inherent in the family stocks from which they come. . . . The writer predicts that when this is done [a more extensive study of mental racial traits] there will be discovered enormously significant racial differences in general intelligence, differences which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture."

Anne Anastasi of Queens College, New York, says in Guilford's Psychology: "On most intelligent scales Negroes have generally obtained lower average scores than whites."

Scheinfeld in "You and Heredity" says: "Negro children tested in various parts of the United States averaged lower in their I. Q.'s than did whites."

Coleman R. Griffith in his "Introduction to Applied Psychology" says, in referring to the vast amount of experimental material and the numerous intelligence tests made to show racial differences, "It is very difficult, however, to place a proper interpretation upon the results. At the present time psychologists are inclined to say that the results are to be taken on their face value. That is, the opinion is usually held that the Negro in particular and other racial groups as well, differ from white groups in native intelligence."

C. Brigham in his "Study of American Intelligence" (Princeton University Press, 1923) reached the conclusion, as a result of Army tests, "that there was clear evidence for the innate intellectual superiority of whites over Negroes."

Otto Klineberg in his "Characteristics of the American Negro" (Harper & Bros.) says, with reference to intelligence tests, "There can be no denying the fact that in general the scores of Negroes are relatively low but this is not true, for example, of Peterson and Lanier's study in New York City nor of Clark's study in Los Angeles." Klineberg believes that some samples prove one thing and some another. "This means that if one particular sample of Negroes is studied the two races might appear to be equal; if other samples are taken, there may be definite Negro inferiority." He admits, however, "In the case of the Negro there have been enough studies made to indicate that *most Negro* samples are inferior to the white groups with whom they are compared." He points out that it is important to keep in mind that "the *amount* of the difference varies markedly from one sample of the population to another." And remarks, "In terms of achievement of the type measure by the test, *we must state that the Negro is on the average inferior*; in terms of aptitude or innate capacity no such statement can be made." (Italics are mine.)

Again he writes: "When the whites are spoken of as superior to the Negroes, it is a superiority *on the average* which has apparently been demonstrated."

"Although a few students still claim that all races possess equal innate capacity and might rise to the same level if given equal opportunities, their conclusions lack statistical foundation. Judged by their achievements and by all the exact tests yet available, the brains

of races differ as do those of individuals, although not to so great an extent."

—Ellsworth Huntington, "Factors in Human Progress."

"Mentally the Negro is inferior to the white. The remark of F. Manetta, made after a long study of the Negro in America, may be taken as generally true of the whole race: the Negro children were sharp, intelligent and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to indolence. We must necessarily suppose that the development of the Negro and white proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brainpan, in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bone."—*Encyclopedia Britannica*—Eleventh Edition.

Over thirty extensive tests have been made by competent psychologists, and practically all of them show, first, that the I. Q.* of the Negro is on the average lower than that of white people, and in the grading of the tests Negroes ranked when compared with other races at or near the bottom of the scale.

An I. Q. from 70 to 80 shows a borderline deficiency, some times dullness and some times feeble-mindedness. 80 to 90 evidences a dull mind, 90 to 110 is the normal or average intelligence. In testing 1,000 unselected children the lowest 5% goes to 78. The lowest 15% goes to 88. The child testing about 85 is equalled or excelled by 90 out of every 100. The mean I. Q. of American white children is 100, the I. Q. for Negro children between 80 and 85. An I. Q. of 120 to 140 signifies a very superior intelligence and above 140 a genius or near genius.

In spite of all the evidence that there is a mental difference between races, particularly the negroid and Australoid when compared to the lighter-skinned races, some psychologists and sociolo-

* The I. Q. or Intelligence Quotient is the ratio of mental age to actual age. For instance, if a child is ten years old and has an I. Q. of 100, it means that he has the average intelligence of a child of ten. But if his I. Q. is 80 then he has the intelligence of a child of eight.

gists persist in asserting that there is no inherent difference.* It is they say merely a matter of culture or environment. It is admitted that the white race as a group is mentally superior to the Negro, but the propagandists for Negroes will not admit that this superiority is due to inherent racial factors. They assert that such differences as are shown are due to the environment. If then it can be proved that heredity is more important in the mental make-up of an individual than his environment, their argument is invalid, and the inferiority of the Negro to the Caucasian cannot be gainsaid.

I will not attempt to prove the greater importance of heredity when compared to environment. I will leave this to the biologists. Most biologists, however, lean toward heredity as the chief factor in the development of mental characteristics in the individual.

There is of course, the famous study of Galton. He looked up the families and antecedents of over a thousand men eminent in the history of the world and concluded that genius and ability are a matter of heredity. On his list, by the way, not a single Negro is to be found, although he mentions Toussaint L'Overture as an able Negro.

H. S. Jennings (*The Biological Basis of Human Nature*—W. W. Norton & Co. 1930), after stating that gene differences in individuals produce differences in mentality writes (Page 284): "It would be surprising if the same were not true for the differing genes of different races. It might well be anticipated that the European whites and the African bushmen would differ in mentality as they do in physical characteristics." Jennings admits that it is hard to prove differences, but, he says, "Both the genetic situation and the state of the present evidence then indicate that there are characteristic differences in mentality between diverse races."

Herbert A. Carroll in "Genius in the Making" (McGraw Hill Book Co. 1940) says: "It is an observable and tested fact that certain racial and nationality groups in the United States produced a smaller number of intellectually gifted children than did certain other racial and nationality groups. . . . For instance one would be absolutely certain of finding a higher percentage of children of

* Ainu's test higher than Jonrils of South India, Gurkas from Nepal, and far above Sakai, Negritos, Australians and Bushmen. Their culture is likewise superior to the last three.—From E. A. Hooton's "Why Men Behave Like Apes," Page 138 (Princeton University Press).

superior mentality among those with a Scotch-Irish ancestry than among Negroes." Carroll states that there are wide differences in the mental capacity of different racial groups in the United States and that while the causes of these differences are debatable, he believes that at present the evidence emphasizes the potency of heredity.*

W. E. Platz in "The Five Sisters" (Wm. Morrow & Co., 1938), a study of the Dionne quintuplets, writes, "The fundamental basis of intelligence is structural and the degree of intelligence, however difficult it is to determine, is an inherited characteristic."

CONCLUSION

The numerous records of intelligence tests, some of which are given in this chapter, all show that the white race tests higher than the Negro race. These results are explained away, as has been pointed out, by various theories, but their fact cannot be disputed. The unanimity of the results puts the onus of proving that they are wrong on those who believe that all races are equal in mentality. A few writers have boldly undertaken this impossible task by coloring the waters with psychological ink and by direct denials, which to some, because of their positiveness, carry the semblance of truth. They have succeeded in convincing themselves that intelligence tests mean nothing and prove nothing. Now by wide publicity and shrewd propaganda these writers are endeavoring to convince the world that their position is correct.

In spite of these denials and the statements of several prominent biologists, psychologists and anthropologists that there is no inherent difference in the mentality of racial groups, I think I have shown that there is a vast difference, at least, between the white race and the black race, and that such difference has been proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

First, there is a physical difference evidenced in the size of the skull and the weight of the brain. Generally speaking the greater the size of the brain the greater is the intelligence of an animal. The Negro has a smaller brain than the white man because his

* Among 35,000 men of achievement listed in "Who's Who in America" there are only one hundred Negro names. If Negroes equal white people in mental achievement they should have at least 3,500 representatives in "Who's Who," since they are 10% of our population.

cranial vault is smaller.* The frontal lobes of the brain are the seat of the higher mental faculties—such as memory and intelligence. The Negro's brain is low and receding, and the frontal lobes are not as well developed as in the brain of the white man. Also, the sutures of the skull of a Negro closes earlier in life than do those of white men. Thus the brain stops expanding and cannot grow larger.

Second, mental tests and intelligence tests of all kinds show that there are mental differences between white people and colored people. Tests, though, more or less crude, prove that the Negro is duller and has not the mental capacity of a white person.

* "No structure found in the brain of an ape is lacking in the human body; and, on the other hand, the human brain reveals no formation of *any sort* that is not present in the brain of the gorilla or chimpanzee. . . . The only distinctive feature of the human brain is a quantitative one."

—Prof. G. Elliot Smith.

CHAPTER XI.

NEGRO DELINQUENCIES AND DEFICIENCIES

NEGROES as a race exhibit many failings. This is particularly true of African Negroes. In the United States their descendants still show the effects of heredity, and their standards in every way are low when compared to those of the white race.

It must be realized that in the United States the majority of the Negroes are not pure racially. There is considerable admixture of white blood, and many Negroes are from three-fourths to seven-eighths white. This intermixture has had the effect of decreasing Negro characteristics both physical and mental in those possessing so great a proportion of white blood. Also, many Negroes in the United States are educated and some possess wealth. Although this is a purely arbitrary estimate, I would say that from 5% to 10% of them do not exemplify the delinquencies I write about here. Many are just as moral and law-abiding as the better class of whites. Of course, with respect to certain qualities the proportions might be much larger.

The first great failing of the Negro peoples is a moral one. It is the lack of character. This is brought about by their philosophy, by their traditions and by racial characteristics such as extreme emotionalism and instability of temperament. They are inflicted with shiftlessness and sensuality which is hereditary.

Negroes do not face difficulties or adversity with courage and determination. They slink away rather than meet the issue. If they want to quit a job they do not have the courage to tell their employer that they are leaving; they take "French" leave and fail to show up again. In business transactions they will some times dispute and argue over trivial differences, but they will more often accept the other party's point of view, and go away inwardly dissatisfied. This occurs frequently in their dealings with white people. They will weaken if the white man is firm, but will protest loudly and vehemently if they think he is weak.

The pure African Negro exhibits many characteristics peculiarly racial. Dr. Phillips,* writing of the Negro in Africa notices "gar-

ulous conversation interspersed with boisterous laughter, lasted well nigh the live long day." Of typical African Negroes he affirms that: "impulsive and inconstant, sociable and amorous, voluble, dilatory and negligent but robust, amiable, obedient and contented they have been the world's premium slaves." This is a very good description of the Negro's psychology and fits the corn-field Negro of the South today.

J. E. Lind in "The Psycho-Analytical Review" (Vol. IV-1817) says that the American Negro corresponds to the African in anthropometric tests, precocity of children, failure to grasp subjective ideas, early puberty, and reversion to savagery.*

In addition to those mentioned by Dr. Phillips, the Negro has other traits that seem to be racial characteristics such as the lack of a sense of time, slothfulness, and an inferior mentality.

SEX MORALS

The Negro is notoriously loose in matters of sex. In this respect the Negro is really unmoral rather than immoral for the reason that he has never learned or accepted the standards set by Anglo-Saxon peoples. John Dollard in "Caste and Class" admits the low sexual standard of Negroes. Other sociological observers report the same condition, which is a matter of common knowledge to all Southerners.†

Slavery, of course, might have been one of the causes of the Negro's prevalent immorality. On the other hand, slave owners often tried to bring Christianity to their slaves, and some not only permitted but urged them to marry. And, under slavery, because of restrictions, the Negro could not "run wild" as he has been able to do since emancipation.

After the Civil War southern Negroes practiced "free love" generally and paid little attention to legal marriage, although all

* When I was a boy my family employed a Negro nurse to take care of the baby. The negress was very black and her white teeth gleamed when she smiled. She played with the baby and every now and then would bite it. In fact one day she bit the child so hard that it was necessary to discharge her immediately. I have thought since that this nurse was exhibiting cannibalistic tendencies. Since the nurse was middle aged, it is possible that her parents were born in Africa. Thus she was not far removed from the culture and habits of the jungle.

† Few housewives in the South in employing domestic help investigate the home life of a prospective maid or cook.

* "American Negro Slavery" by Ulrich Barnell Phillips, Professor of American history at the University of Michigan (D. Appleton Co., New York, 1918).

states passed laws legalizing the unions formed during slavery. In many of the counties in the black belt today most of the so-called marriages are temporary or common-law marriages.*

The Census Report of 1904—Negroes in the United States—says:

Unquestionably many Negroes, who have never been united by a marriage ceremony, and many who, after a legal marriage, have separated and formed other and illegal unions, regarded and reported themselves as married to those with whom they were cohabiting at the date of the census. The following statements, while by no means typical of conditions all over the South, are undoubtedly true of a large proportion of Negroes. Legal marriage is not considered absolutely necessary. Of 40 couples who reported themselves as married . . . only 20 were legally married in the church or by civil authorities. . . . Numerous cases are seen of two persons legally married and yet living with a different person and reporting as being married to the second.

This condition undoubtedly exists today, and the generalization holds true for the majority of Negroes, at least, in the rural South.†

Negroes form unions without the benefit of clergy, but it must be said that they often regard these as marriages and they will fight anyone who tries to break into the arrangement. But they treat these matters lightly at other times, and are continually changing partners. Thus their family life is unstable, and their children are scattered. This loose manner of living is one of the causes of the Negro's failure as a citizen.

It is of course difficult to make any accurate statement about the immorality of Negroes, but that it still must be high is proved by the high syphilitic rate—syphilis is a disease of immorality‡—and the high rate of illegitimacy. In a recent study of illegitimacy in

* There is a strange psychology about the Negro's concept of marriage. The writer knows of a certain parish in Louisiana where the Negroes at one time outnumbered the whites eight to one. The majority of Negro families were not "legal." At church revivals visiting preachers would sometimes start a "get-married" movement. Some of the congregation would "get religion," obtain a license and marry. Then a strange thing would happen—couples who had been living together for fifteen, twenty or twenty-five years would separate a short time after they were legally married, and take up with new mates. The bonds of matrimony seemed onerous.

† In Lillian Smith's novel, *Strange Fruit*, the immorality of the young Negroes in a Southern town is realistically described.

‡ See Page 220 for statistics on syphilis.

New York City made by Ruth Reed, she found that in 144 cases out of 410, the father was a chance acquaintance and the mother often did not know the name, age or address of the father of her child.

In 1894 in Washington, D. C., 26.5% of live Negro births were illegitimate, and among whites 2.6% were illegitimate. Fifty years later the rate for Negroes was 12 times that of the whites. The ratio had increased from 10 to 12. In New Orleans in 1938, 10% of the Negro births were illegitimate and in Natchez, Miss., in the same year 33- $\frac{1}{3}$ % of the Negro births were illegitimate.

The following table from a bulletin of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March 1943, gives a comparison between Negro and white illegitimacy:

*Illegitimate Live Birth Rates (Number per 1000 Total Live Births) by Races Birth-Registration States, 1930-1941**

Year	Total	White	(Non-White)
1930	34.7	18.6	141.1
1931	37.5	19.8	150.5
1932	41.0	21.3	160.9
1933	41.8	21.3	158.9
1934	41.0	20.9	154.0
1935	41.1	21.4	163.6
1936	39.8	20.3	162.4
1937	40.2	20.1	163.9
1938	41.1	20.5	169.1
1939	41.8	20.3	172.7
1940	40.5	19.5	169.5
1941	40.9	19.0	176.2

The Census Bulletin says:

The completeness with which the fact of illegitimacy is reported in the United States is not known. However, it is generally believed that it is significantly incomplete in some areas. Furthermore, it is possible that underregistration is relatively greater for illegitimate births than for legitimate births. If either or both of these conditions exist, the reported illegitimacy rates are lower than the true rates.

* Exclusive of California, Massachusetts, and New York for each year, Texas for 1938 and 1939, and Maryland, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and Wyoming for 1940 and 1941. (Some of these states do not believe it good public policy to differentiate between the races.)

We might compare a few of the states for the year 1941:

	White (per thousand)	Non-white (per thousand)
District of Columbia	18.8	229.7
Delaware	24.9	316.3
North Carolina	26.9	204.9
Alabama	16.7	207.9
Pennsylvania	24.5	201.2
Illinois	16.3	180.4
Missouri	21.0	147.6
New Jersey	13.6	149.8

It will be seen that the rate of illegitimacy among Negroes in these particular states ranges all the way from six to twelve times as great as that among whites. In the whole United States the illegitimacy rate of the Negroes is eight or nine times as great as that of the whites.*

The following table shows the number of illegitimate live births per thousand for the whole United States. During the last four years it seems that the rate of illegitimacy for whites is declining, whereas the rate for Negroes is increasing.

	White	Non-white
1938	20.5	169.1
1939	20.3	172.7
1940	19.5	169.5
1941	19.0	176.2

In Louisiana in 1942 there were 492 white illegitimate births and 4,192 Negro illegitimate births. In the Parish of Orleans there were 166 white illegitimate and 964 non-white illegitimate births.

UNTRUTHFULNESS

Although the Bible says that all men are liars, the Negro is particularly susceptible to this form of moral delinquency. Negroes are oriental in their attitude towards the truth. They will tell bare-faced lies in order to be agreeable. They will say "yes" when they mean "no" so as not to offend.

* In the West Indies illegitimacy is common. Charles Davenport in "Heredity of Skin Color" (1913) reports that in Jamaica the illegitimacy among Negroes was 60%.

Negroes make poor witnesses in court. It is difficult to tell when they are lying and when they are telling the truth. A coroner in the South once told me "A Negro never testifies at an inquest against the accused—the one who remains alive after the argument. The dead *nigger* is always the bad *nigger*." He explained that this lack of desire to get at the truth and see justice done is based on fear. Witnesses are afraid that the murderer might wield the knife again.*

In cases involving Negroes and whites, the Negroes will testify in favor of their colored brethren like sailors who "stand by the ship" in maritime litigation. Negroes stand by their color.

PETTY THIEVERY

The general experience of the white people in the South is that Negroes are apt to be petty thieves. They will steal chickens, food from the kitchen, small sums of money, and so on. This failing fits in with their general weakness of character since they cannot resist temptation. Negroes are like the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands who stole everything off of Magellan's flagship when he landed there over four hundred years ago. However, many Negroes are just as honest as white people, and the whole race cannot be said to be dishonest.

SLOTHFULNESS

Negroes are lazy and given to slothfulness. Many only work when they have to. They are indifferent workers, and for this reason white workers have always considered themselves superior, and the objection to Negroes on account of color has often been only secondary. As a general rule, Negroes are indifferent, careless and incompetent. This is the reason why employers of labor look with disfavor on their employment. Here is what C. A. Franklin, the editor of the Kansas City Call, a Negro newspaper, said in a recent editorial:

It was a sad hour for the editor of this paper when he sat down and listened to the experiences of a merchant who had employed Negro women in his retail establishment only to have to dismiss nine out of ten of them for gross incompetence. That

* In Harlem two Negro girls, 11 and 13 years old, on May 10, 1944, stabbed to death a younger playmate. A reporter for PM tried to get the complete story. He wrote: "We talked to the kids at public school. They were scared because they had their own lives to think about—and even at 9 or 11, they do think about their lives. 'I'm not going to squeal,' said John Jackson, 12, 'I know what happens to squealers.'"

they would be inexperienced he knew, but that they would bring to the job surliness, impudence, insubordination and a general disregard of customers, he did not anticipate.

The wages paid were ample, many times what these workers had been getting in the domestic employment they were accustomed to. The hours were only eight. The work was within their capacity. But nine out of ten of them had to be dismissed. Their failure cannot be explained away. It is a disheartening situation!

LACK OF THRIFT

One of the serious deficiencies in the mental make-up of the Negro is his lack of thrift. This may be accounted for by his training and environment for thousands of years. Yet thriftlessness is so prevalent among Negroes that it almost seems inborn. Ellsworth Huntington in "The Characteristics of Races" (Scribner, 1924) shows how early migrants to the African jungles had an advantage over those who lived in the northern forests. In the tropical forests food is more plentiful—cocoanuts, berries, fruits and even insects which were and still are an important article of food in Africa. Observes Huntington, "There is less likelihood of prolonged periods without food, so that the hoarding instinct, and the power of self-control in order to make the food last through a period of deprivation are not fostered so much as further poleward."

That thrift has become a hereditary characteristic in northern peoples—who because of conditions had to, first, struggle harder for their food and, second, like the squirrel, store it up in times of plenty for the days of scarcity—is doubtful, as we know that acquired characteristics are not inherited. Thrift or the tradition of thrift, however, may have been so ingrained into the minds of those who were forced to employ it we might almost call it a secondary instinct. The same would apply to thriftlessness. In any event, Caucasians are, generally speaking, thrifty and Negroes are not. Negroes do not save their money. They belong to the grasshopper school of thought. They enjoy life while they can.

Negro workers like to "make a few days" then lay off and spend the money they have earned. Other backward peoples have a similar philosophy. In building air and naval bases in South America the United States Government, having a fixed scale of pay, paid the native laborers the same wage as American citizens. This is three or four times what the natives had been getting. The result is that instead of working six days a week they worked two

or three days to earn as much money as they had been earning in six days. So they took three days off to rest or enjoy themselves.

Roger Babson in a syndicated column (March, 19, 1944) took Negroes to task for their lack of thrift, saying, "The way you are foolishly spending money today is a shame and disgrace. . . . Some of you foolishly refuse to work if you have a little cash in your pockets. This applies to strong men and women as well as to your young people." He said that Negroes were saying, "Aunt Eleanor will take care of me after the war."*

Even during war times when work was plentiful and every hour counted absenteeism was greater among Negroes than among white people. A study made by the National Urban League (1944) in 300 typical war plants in twenty-five states and one hundred and twenty cities and covering 150,000 Negro workers stated that the greatest trouble arising from using Negro workers was that of absenteeism. The most frequent complaints listed by 142 plants that reported deficiencies of Negro workers were: In 67 plants, higher rate of absenteeism; in 51 plants, race friction; in 11 plants, "chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude; and in 13 plants, high turnover.

It does not take a war to emphasize this failing of the Negro worker. In the South Monday is "blue Monday" for many employers of Negro labor because the employees have not yet recovered from week-end play. Negroes stay away from their jobs on the slightest excuse.†

LACK OF SENSE OF TIME

Negroes seem to have little sense of time. Among savages there is no record of the past. They know nothing about the calen-

* Negroes bitterly resented Babson's lecture and advice. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People jumped on him so hard that he was forced to apologize, saying: "I am sorry that I wrote the column."

† "Negroes do not care any more for their jobs than they cared 25 years ago. Job slighting among Negroes is as flagrant as it ever was. A head bellman tells me that an impecunious Negro comes with tears in his eyes asking to be 'put on' the bellman bench; that the first real good night he has he lays off until his earnings are spent and then he reappears only to repeat week after week and month after month. The proverbial lay-off after pay day and the drunken spree are as much a part of the life of the Negro workingman as ever. Wherever whites can replace Negroes with whites they are more and more doing so. Negroes turned off immediately begin to cry 'Color! Color!' The truth is Negroes just do not generally stick to the job. We all know this to be true."—Gordon P. Hancock, for ANP (May 1, 1947).

dar and so they cannot date anything for the future. In the tropics where there are no changes of season and one day is like another, natives pay little attention to days, months or years. So when carried down to smaller divisions of time the Negro is still free from the consciousness of it. If you send him on an errand he does not go directly and quickly but will linger along the wayside.*

If a Negro makes an appointment he is seldom prompt. Some times he will not show up at all. The flight of time seems to make no impression on him. John Dollard in "Caste and Class" says, "I noticed that low class Negroes were less reliable on the score of time. Frequently they would miss appointments and present the weakest of excuses when they came back. Some simply solved the dilemma by not coming back at all."

SUPERSTITION

Superstition is still rife among Negroes. John Dollard in "Caste and Class in a Southern Town" says that middle-class Negroes believe in dreams and superstitions of all kinds. He does not mention the educated class, but certain it is that the lower class is very superstitious. N. N. Puckett has written an interesting book on the subject. (Folk Belief of the Southern Negro—Chapel Hill, 1926). After a study of Negro superstitions he concludes, "These cases which could be multiplied indefinitely, show clearly the grip of superstition upon southern Negroes. Conjuraton is constantly having a hand in the practical affairs of life."

In the City of New Orleans where slaves were often imported directly from Africa there is a square which used to be known as Congo Square. In the old days on Sundays Negro slaves would be allowed to go to the Square where native dances were held and African cult rites practiced. About these last there was more or less secrecy, but in this manner the ideas and superstitions of the voodoo cult were preserved. Years ago in New Orleans there was a celebrated voodoo queen, Marie Laveau,† whose fame as a protector against evil influences and a promoter of evil was wide spread. For certain sums of money she would ward off evil from a worried

* This, of course, is not true of all Negroes because under modern conditions a truck driver, for instance, is checked pretty carefully and only those who will make quick deliveries are given this kind of a job.

† Marie Laveau's portrait was painted in full size and is now in the possession of a New Orleans collector.

client or for another who sought to overcome an enemy she would invoke the powers of evil.

Many Negroes are still fearful of "spells" and of voodooes. They are also great believers in love potions that will win the love of the unresponsive dusky dame or overcome the success of a hated rival. The old beliefs in witchcraft and magic are prevalent.*

The Negro, as were his ancestors in Africa for thousands of years, is harassed by the fear of evil spirits. He is likewise afraid of "hants" or ghosts and it is this fear that enabled the Ku Klux Klan in Reconstruction Days to scare thousands of these simple people when members of the Klan appeared in their ghostly array.

POVERTY

As a result of the Negro's failings, although he is apt to assign the reason to other causes, such as prejudice and lack of opportunity, Negroes in the United States live in comparative poverty. According to a table in "American Dilemma" the following is the medium income for Negroes compared to whites:

	New York	Chicago	Columbus, Ohio	Atlanta	Columbia, S. C.	Mobile
Negro Families	\$ 980	\$ 726	\$ 831	\$ 632	\$ 576	\$ 481
White "	1930	1687	1876	1876	1876	1419

Although the total property owned by Negroes in the United States is now substantial, and amounts to over two billion dollars, it is small when compared to the total wealth of the United States which is around 350 billion dollars. Generally speaking, the standard of living of the Negro is the lowest of any group in the United States, and over 90% belong to the lowest income group. Says "An American Dilemma" (Harper & Bros., 1944) Vol. I, Page 205:

The economic situation of the Negroes in America is pathological. Except for a small minority enjoying upper or middle

* I asked a worker at the "blood bank" whether the Negroes of New Orleans were contributing their share of blood. She replied that they were not. Only a few Negroes came to find out about blood donations, and of those who agreed to give a pint of blood the majority failed to keep their appointments. I asked if this reluctance to donate blood was due to enmity against the whites, or to the adverse propaganda of Negro agitators who objected to the separation of Negro and white blood. She said that this was not the reason; but that by skillful questioning she learned that a superstitious fear kept them from mingling their blood with another's. Negroes fear that if the person into whose veins their blood is poured were killed or were to die, the blood donor would soon wither and die too.

class status, the masses of American Negroes in the rural South and in the segregated slum quarters in Southern and Northern cities, are destitute. They own little property; even their household goods are mostly inadequate and dilapidated.

CRIME

It is a well-known fact that the Negro contributes more than his share to our prison population. He also is more often guilty of misdemeanors and petty larcenies. The following table shows the prisoners received from the courts in 1940:

	Total	Felonies		Misdemeanors	
White	51,631	44,258	70.6%	7,373	68.5%
Negro	20,954	17,677	28.2%	3,277	30.4%
All other	871	757	1.2%	114	1.0%
	<hr/> 73,456				

The proportion of Negroes in fifteen Southern states convicted and sentenced for murder and aggravated assault is more than twice the proportion of whites. Negroes show larger proportions for manslaughter and burglary while whites show larger proportion for robbery and auto theft. Whites sentenced for forgery and embezzlement are three times that of Negroes. Negroes served longer periods of imprisonment than did whites in all sections of the country.

In the Northeastern area the rate of commitment for Negroes (male only) was eight times as great as whites and in the South three times as great.

Executions in 1940

Whites	49
Negro	75
	<hr/> 124

Admitted to Prisons—1940

- 34 White male prisoners to every 100,000 whites
123 Negro male prisoners to every 100,000 Negroes

A large proportion of crimes of passion among Negroes is due to the violent and aggressive behavior shown more often by lower class blacks. Lower class Negroes fight more and these fights are due to their free sexual life, jealousy or to gambling disputes. Eleven

Negroes are killed violently for every white who dies a violent death. According to the New Orleans Item:

By their crimes you may know them. Whites and Negroes have their own specific types of crime. For instance, police list more arrests for drunkenness and vagrancy among white persons, than among Negroes, but list more homicides, robberies, assaults, burglaries, larcenies and prostitution among Negroes.

The scars received by Negroes in cutting affrays are a mark of honor, much as the German students are proud of their duelling scars. And a prison record brought about by cutting or shooting makes a Negro respected by his friends. These observations apply, however, only to the lower class Negroes since educated Negroes are generally law-abiding.*

The Committee on Crime and Delinquency, Harlem (1942) reported that of the arrests for prostitution in New York City, 54% were Negro women, and that the rate was ten times greater for them than for white women.

According to the Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 1940, the arrests per 100,000 population were 1078.4 for Negroes and 391.6 for whites. In every offence the Negro rate was higher than that of whites except for forgery and counterfeiting. For homicides and assaults the Negro rate was 136.2 per 100,000 and for the whites, 18.9.

Although in the United States during the decade from 1931 to 1940 inclusive the curve of prison commitments was downward, in the last three or four years crime is on the increase, particularly among Negroes.

Leon Lewis, Negro executive secretary of the New Orleans Negro Press Club, in a talk before the members of his club, is quoted in the New Orleans Item of October 23, 1942, as having deplored the increasing crime wave among Negroes. Lewis stated that from 1929 to 1939 in New Orleans a total of 844 Negroes were killed by members of their own race, and that burglary and theft was increasing among Negroes. Dr. A. E. Perkins, well known New Orleans Negro educator, said in the Item of the same date: "Inadequate home control and direction is responsible for much Negro crime. Then, too, the Negro has not yet learned the full meaning of self-

* Note again that educated Negroes are generally part white, and this preponderance of white blood may have something to do with their being more law-observant.

advancement and progress, he hasn't learned the full meaning of application to duty, and sees an opportunity for idleness."

A committee to study crime in Richmond, Virginia, reported (Aug. 11, 1943):

In Richmond last year out of 44 slayings, 36 were confined to killings of Negroes by Negroes, five involved killings of whites, and only three involved members of the two races.

Richmond's high percentage of Negro homicides is by no means out of line with other cities such as Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Charlotte, Louisville, Memphis and Tampa, in some of which the ratio runs much greater than it does in this city.

F. B. I. figures showed that the Virginia capital's homicide rate jumped from 16.58 per hundred thousand in 1941 to 22.79 in 1942. The other Southern cities with higher percentages were Norfolk with 20.83 and 30.69, and Charlotte, N. C., with 21.78 and 30.69.

However, it is not only in the South that the Negroes lead in law violations. In Brooklyn conditions got so bad that a Grand Jury report (November, 1943) charged that there was widespread crime and hoodlumism. There are over 100,000 Negroes in the Bedford section. An effort was made by the city authorities to check on conditions there, but the police could get little cooperation from the populace.

As usual the crime wave in the Bedford section of Brooklyn was said to be caused by housing conditions. In sentencing Negro hoodlums one judge blamed cheap dance halls and pool halls. A social worker in the Bedford district complains that policemen were afraid to treat Negro hoodlums "rough." If they did it might provoke race riots with political repercussions. She said:

There are 110,000 Negroes living in this community and no one seems to know anything about them or their needs. Average Negroes have told me that in their opinion much good would be done if the police would handle Negro hoodlums the way they do white hoodlums. These people feel that the police here should be more firm and exercise their police functions.

This complaint of the Brooklyn social worker that the police are too lenient is in startling contrast to the usual complaint of Negroes and negrophiles that the police treat Negroes brutally. In fact both the Detroit and Harlem riots were said to have been caused

in part by the unjust, unlawful and rough methods of the police. William Hard, writing in *The Negro* says:

It is a rather deadly joke among the Negroes (especially since the Detroit riots) that the first thing to do in case of a race riot is not to call the police but to shoot them. . . . "Man, what you mean call the police; them the people gonna kill you. . . ."

The Negro crime situation in New York and Brooklyn continues to be serious. On June 11th, 1944, twelve Harlem Negro youths were held in \$15,000 bail each and another without bail for their part in a battle of street gangs, in which a policeman was critically wounded, a Negro boy killed and four others wounded. Magistrate Andrews in setting the high bail said, "There is too much of this gangsterism and hoodlumism in Harlem."

Over in Brooklyn there have been outbreaks of racial violence caused by young Negro hoodlums misconducting themselves on subway trains and trolley cars serving the Prospect Park district of Brooklyn. In one instance, (June 17, 1944) fifteen Negro youths rushed through the train jostling and insulting white passengers. When one man remonstrated and told them that they should behave themselves, he was shot. Extra policemen had to be assigned to this section to prevent disorders.

In Harlem policemen go in twos now and never singly on their beats as heretofore. There is on the average a Negro killed in Harlem every day.

One bad Negro trait is the tendency to aid in the escape or to hide Negro criminals. In the South, particularly in the cities, it is difficult to apprehend Negro law violators, especially those charged with serious crimes. People of his race, instead of acting on the side of law and order, sympathize with the offender, and if they do not actually assist him to get away, they offer no help to the officers of the law. In a manner they "compound" felonies and are often "accessories after the fact."*

* In Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit*, the Negro doctor conceals the Negro murderer of Tracy and helps him to escape, remaining silent when an innocent man is lynched for the crime. The doctor is drawn as a self-sacrificing, noble character! And Roi Ottley in *New World A Coming* tells of seeing from an apartment window two Negro boys rob a white woman, and when she appealed to Negro bystanders for help, they turned away and refused to apprehend the youthful criminals.

This antagonism to law may have its counterpart in certain other groups such as the Italian mafia and gangsters in the large cities. But Anglo-Saxons have ever been noted for their stand for law and order. Five hundred years ago in England when a crime was committed a "hue and cry" was raised and all joined in the man hunt. The white race as a whole does not try to hide and protect its criminals, but helps to find them and turn them over to the authorities so that the law may take its course.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Juvenile delinquency in the cities is an ever increasing problem among all kinds of children. In New York City the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency report of August, 1943, showed a delinquency increase in 1942 over 1941 and an increase over the first six months of 1943 as compared with the first six months of 1942. The delinquency by races was:

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Colored</i>
1941	2058	1135
1942	2326	1228

Since the white population of New York is over ten times that of the Negro population, Negroes contribute more than their share.*

The report noted: "Central Harlem and East Harlem [where Negroes are concentrated] continued to supply more than half the delinquent children in the entire Borough of Manhattan." In this respect there was no marked change between 1941 and 1942. Bradford Chambers, a New York sociologist, says that many of the Harlem "gangs"—250 of which are known to the police—that terrorize New York are girl gangs. They assist in crimes and depredations, and are "harems for the senior members of the boy gangs."

In Brooklyn the report disclosed that the largest sectional increase in juvenile delinquency occurred in the Bedford section and most of the increase was the delinquency among Negroes.

Negro juvenile delinquency in New York and Brooklyn is em-

* On Nov. 25, 1942, a Negro woman in New York City was arrested for assaulting a white school teacher, who, she alleged had knocked down her 12 year old son. The Magistrate held her in bail. After the hearing the teacher said to reporters: "Conditions are becoming unbearable. I guess I shouldn't talk this way but I am willing to be the martyr. The colored pupils are the worst problem. They influence white children to fight the teachers. Some teacher is hit almost every day."

phasized because in these communities Negroes have the finest educational facilities, they receive the highest wages, and the prejudice against them is not as great as elsewhere.

In Los Angeles, whose population is 10% Mexican and 5% Negro, 35% of the juvenile arrests are among Mexicans and 14% from the Negro population.

EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES

Although Negroes have advanced remarkably in their escape from illiteracy, there are still a great many illiterate Negroes. Up to the end of 1944 the Provost Marshal reported that 250,000 Negroes had been rejected because of illiteracy. In the 18-19-year-old group 12% of the Negroes were rejected because of educational deficiencies and 1% whites.* In Mississippi out of 22,000 men rejected by the Army for illiteracy, 21,000 were Negroes.

The Secretary of War in a letter reproduced in the Congressional Record (April 17, 1944) said:

In a recent study of all men processed at reception centers from June to December 1943, 20% of the Negroes and 74% of the whites were rated in grades I, II and III by army general classification tests. 80% of the Negroes and 26% of the whites fell in grades IV and V.

All Negroes, as with whites, have a chance to get some schooling, and there is no reason for the rate of illiteracy to be as high as it is. It is indeed surprising that among those of the younger generation, as the heavy rejection figures above show, Negro illiteracy is twelve times that of the whites.

Since it is generally possible for everyone to get enough schooling to learn his A B C's, the poor literacy rate of the Negroes must be due to a certain extent to their lack of ambition and perhaps their inability to learn.

While want of good schools and the time to attend them is a severe handicap—one which many people never overcome—it is not an insuperable difficulty. Some of our greatest men and some of our best writers have had very little education in the formal sense. Abraham Lincoln educated himself. He read the few books he could get hold of as he lay flat on his stomach before a big log fire. Lincoln read and reread the Bible and Shakespeare and Plutarch's Lives. But he had ambition and a fine mind and in spite of his

* Because rejections for illiterates have been so heavy, the Army inducted likely-looking illiterates and taught them to read and write.

meagre education, he was able later in life to write in his state papers and correspondence some of our finest literature. Although it contains compactly expressed many thought-provoking and noble ideas, the Gettysburg Address could be improved from a literary standpoint. But in other documents, such as the letters to Mrs. Bixby and General Hooker, Lincoln wrote with a grace and felicity of expression that has never been excelled.

Another of our greatest writers, Mark Twain, had very little schooling. His father died when he was twelve and the boy got his education as best he could. Mark Twain was a journeyman printer and wandered around the country. He wrote three novels that have won for him immortality. Walt Whitman, considered by some the greatest American poet, was a carpenter and the son of a farmer. His education was limited, yet he developed verse forms that have influenced other writers and produced poems of great originality and power. Many instances may be cited to show that lack of educational opportunity does not prevent the ambitious man from succeeding.*

It is true that opportunity for a formal education is a distinct advantage. But it is hard to realize that one hundred and twenty-five years ago illiteracy was common. Many people learned how to read and write by studying newspapers which came to the local inns. Signs were posted in taverns, "Persons learning to read will please use last week's gazette." The American people have never been deterred by handicaps.

The Negro's complaint about the lack of educational opportunity is justified to a certain extent. Negro schools in the South are not up to the standard of those for whites. Yet there are many good Negro schools, in fact in some localities they are better than white schools in other localities.

In the realm of higher education more Negroes today go to college than ever before. Out of 13,000,000 colored people there are 45,000 Negro college students. In England out of 45,000,000 people there are less than that number of college students. While the proportion of Negro college students in the United States is smaller when compared with the whites, they are numerous enough to indicate that Negroes have ample opportunity to get an education.

* An outstanding Negro writer, Richard Wright, further proves this point. Born in the slum of a Southern town, of ignorant and brutal parents, by his energy and ambition he overcame his environment.

In fact when compared to whites of a generation ago, say in 1910, more Negroes in proportion now go to college than white boys and girls at that time.

While the Negro has not had quite the opportunity of the white he is fast catching up. In the northern states Negroes go to white colleges and, of course, get the same opportunity as do the white students. In the South they are not allowed to do this and yet there are some very good Negro colleges in the South.

Most Negro colleges, however, are hampered financially. The salaries of the professors are generally small. The average annual salary paid by eight representative Negro colleges and universities is—for professors, \$2,680; for assistant professors and associate professors, \$2,000; and for instructors, \$1,610. The curricula of some Negro colleges are almost as limited as the schools, which issue after a few weeks study, beautifully engraved diplomas, and turn out quack doctors and lawyers. James C. Wynn, writing in *The Negro* (February-March 1940 issue), says that the catalogs of most Negro colleges promise too much, some being illustrated with faked pictures.

Say what one will or may, students are attracted to colleges, to no small degree by the bulletins thereof. Competition for students has become so keen that not a few colleges have taken this fact into consideration. Moreover, to precipitate admiration and love for the college they have lowered the moral and academic bars. Hard liquor, cigarettes, petting parties and football have become the order of the day. The writer has seen women students taken from the college dance floors, by the deans and presidents so intoxicated that they didn't know whether they were celebrating football or basketball victory. He has also seen, 20 procereant girls on the campus, and a stream of girls and boys go into a house of prostitution at the foot of the campus. Upon asking a young professor how many students he had violated over a period of six months, the immediate reply was, "About 50."

This is a sad commentary on Negro higher education and it will be noted that these colleges are Negro owned and managed. However, conditions may not be as bad generally as this pessimistic paragraph would indicate. The great Negro universities like Howard, Dillard, Atlanta and Lincoln Universities have high standards in every way and their degrees represent scholastic achievement.

The Negro has made his greatest progress in the matter of education, but he still has a long way to go.

HEALTH

The health record of Negroes is bad. This might be expected since they often live in unsanitary quarters, they take little care of themselves, their diets are unbalanced and deficient in vitamins, and they are not always clean. They are sick 43% more often than white people.

Tuberculosis and Pneumonia. Negroes are peculiarly susceptible to diseases of the lungs. It used to be thought that the weakness is hereditary. Perhaps they do have a racial inheritance of weak lungs.

The death rate from tuberculosis among Negroes is three to four times that for whites. In the South Negro mortality from tuberculosis is 2.6 times that of whites. In the North it is 5.3 times that of whites. The tuberculosis death rate in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn—"Little Harlem"—was four times higher than that for the rest of the city, exclusive of Harlem, according to Dr. Stebbins, Commissioner of Health, in his 1943 report to the Mayor of New York.

Lobar pneumonia also takes a heavy toll from Negroes. During the last war from April 1, 1917, to December 31, 1919, for the entire Army the death rate was: Whites 196 per thousand, and colored 775 per thousand troops. From 1931 to 1935 the death rate from lobar pneumonia among colored people was more than double that of whites. One out of ten Negro infant deaths is caused by lobar pneumonia.

Syphilis. Negroes have this disease ten times more frequently than whites. Estimates vary in the number of Negroes affected—all the way from 12% to 75%. Some southern physicians believe that most adults are syphilitics. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General, in his report to Congress (June 1943) said that a study of the first 2,000,000 drafted men—ages 21 through 35—47.7 out of each thousand were found to have syphilis, and in one southern state among Negroes examined, 405.9 in each thousand had this dread disease. The first million selectees examined showed that the syphilis rate was 18.5 per thousand for whites and 241.2 for Negroes. The Negro rate was thirteen times greater than the white. In New York the rate of syphilis per thousand males 21 to 35 years old was: Whites 14.7 and Negroes 197.3. The Commissioner of Health in New York in a report to the Mayor November 1943 disclosed that there were

approximately 10,000 recorded cases of syphilis in Brooklyn's "Little Harlem" in the past five years—an average of 2,000 a year.* *Insanity.* Up to the present time no complete study has been made of insanity among Negroes. Before the Civil War Negroes were practically free from insanity. This may have been because no insane slave would have been loaded on a slaver, and those that reached this side who showed evidence of insanity were probably killed. If insanity developed among the slaves on the plantations of the South not much is known about it.

Now, however, insanity is quite prevalent among Negroes, even more than among whites. In 1933 the admissions to insane asylums in the United States were:

Whites	56.2 per 100,000
Negroes	61.8 " 100,000

In New York State admissions to the Dannemora State Hospital from state prisons over a ten-year period show that for every thousand committed, 26.9 white and 36.4 colored persons were sent to Dannemora because of mental affliction.

The Negro resists yellow fever and he used to be resistant to malaria. Now he is subject to malaria almost as much as the whites. The Negro is susceptible to whooping cough and the death rate among Negroes for this disease is three times as high as that of the whites. Heart disease in the North is more prevalent among whites, and in the South it is more prevalent among colored people.

An analysis of physical examinations in the first World War—rejections for physical reasons—shows that the white registrants made better records than the colored. 100,000 whites furnished 1,240 more soldiers than would the same number of Negroes—in spite of the fact that 100,000 country boys furnished 4,790 more soldiers than the same number from the cities.† Most Negroes then lived in rural communities.

In the present war, according to Gen. Hershey's report on Selective Service, Negro rejections constituted 18.7 per cent of the total in Class IV-F.

* Venereal diseases were the most important cause for rejections among Negro registrants. There was a huge backlog of venereal rejects.—Gen. Hershey's Report, 1941-42 Selective Service U. S. A.

† It is interesting that 100,000 native-born gave 3,500 more soldiers than foreign born.

*Number of Deaths per 100,000 (1939)**From Selected Causes*

	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-White</i>
Influenza	14.5	37.5
Tuberculosis	37.0	133.2
Pneumonia	54.3	106.8
Homicide	3.2	34.2
Cerebral Hemorrhage	72.7	137.1
Nephritis	76.7	164.6
Syphilis	4.5	40.3
Cancer	118.4	97.1
Suicide	14.9	4.6
Heart Disease	273.7	308.8
All Causes	1006.5	1603.3

INSURANCE

Negroes do not make good insurance risks. Insurance companies, which are conducted on a pragmatic and impersonal basis, do not care to insure Negroes. (They do, however, sell them "industrial" insurance.) This is not because the companies are run by officials who are prejudiced, nor does their hesitancy about writing insurance on the lives of Negroes indicate racial bias. The insurance business is an exact one and it is based on mortality records extending over many years and from many countries. The best insurance risk, for instance, is a Scotch Presbyterian minister. The worst insurance risk would be a savage in Africa or from the far away Pacific islands.

In the United States the Negro is the worst insurance risk. The reasons for this are several. In the first place the Negro mortality rate is higher, and his life expectancy is shorter—for whites, 62 years, and for Negroes, 51. Secondly, a Negro can seldom give his family history, and since heredity plays a part in longevity, a man of unknown parents or grandparents might be of short-lived ancestry or susceptible to hereditary diseases. In the third place, the Negro is more susceptible to tuberculosis and syphilis. Fourth, his health, sanitary and living conditions are generally bad. Fifth, he is more given to crimes of passion and the risk of violent death is much greater than with whites. Finally, his economic background and his improvident ways make it seem probable that he would not carry through payments over a long period of time.

Taken all in all, nearly all the leading insurance companies turn down Negro applicants for life insurance, and when they do accept them, they charge a rate 10% to 20% higher. The companies that sell industrial insurance, however, take Negroes as risks because they pay an extremely high rate. In fact there are a number of successful Negro insurance companies in the United States, who specialize in industrial insurance. In this type of insurance the insured pays 15c a week or 25c a week to a collector, and is covered for \$100 or \$300 with what the "old line" companies call "term insurance." 25c a week is \$13.00 a year and for \$13.00 a person 25 years old can buy approximately \$2,000.00 worth of term insurance. In any event, industrial insurance is a great help to people with small incomes and Negroes are glad to get any insurance at all.

NEGROES ON RELIEF

During the depression from 1932 to 1940 "on relief" was the leading Negro occupation, excepting agriculture. As might be expected Negroes furnish the greatest number of names to the relief rolls in proportion to the population. In 1933 in the United States there were on relief 10,309,844 whites, or 9.5% of the total white population. In New York City 25.3% of the Negro population was on relief and 9.3% of the white. Negroes comprised 25% of the relief rolls, although they represented only 5% of the total population. In Michigan 28.5% of the Negro population and 12% of the whites were on relief.

It is noticeable that in northern states and cities where Negroes are supposed to do so well, the proportion on relief was greater. According to the National Health Survey and the Consumer Purchase Study in 1936 approximately one-half of the Negro families in Northern cities were on relief. In four states Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Florida more than 35% of the Negro population was on relief. Of these states only Florida had more than 10% of its whites on relief (20.5%).

NORTH

In District of Columbia	21.8%	Negroes on relief —	2.4%	whites
In New York City	23.9%	" " "	9.2%	"
In Chicago	34.4%	" " "	10.1%	"
In Philadelphia	34.4%	" " "	8.2%	"
In Baltimore	28.8%	" " "	9.3%	"
In Pittsburg	43.4%	" " "	15.7%	"

In St. Louis	34.3%	'	"	"	7.2%	"
In Cleveland	43.0%	"	"	"	12.4%	"

SOUTH

In New Orleans	37.9%	"	"	"	9.6%	"
In Atlanta	22.7%	"	"	"	9.1%	"
In Richmond	10.7%	"	"	"	3.7%	"
In Houston	20.7%	"	"	"	8.9%	"
In Memphis	11.1%	"	"	"	4.8%	"
In Birmingham	26.5%	"	"	"	10.9%	"

In New York City in November 1943 there were 34,822 cases involving 70,000 individuals who are still receiving help from the Department of Welfare. Many of these were disabled. About one quarter of them, however, live in Harlem which means that 17,000 Negroes were still on the relief rolls.

NEGROES AS SOLDIERS

Much is being said by Negro propagandists about what wonderful soldiers the members of their race make. They point with pride to their record in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War and World War One. In the Revolutionary War, 5,000 Negroes served with the Americans, and 30,000 with the British. In the War of 1812 about 200 Negroes fought at the Battle of New Orleans. In the Civil War about 175,000 Negro troops were enrolled by the Federals. Some few regiments saw combat. In World War One 380,000 Negroes were inducted and 200,000 sent to France. Most of them were in labor battalions. Only 42,000 saw combat service. In none of these wars was Negro participation in actual fighting extensive enough to justify too much glorification. In World War II the Public Relations Departments of some commands are sending out numerous stories about the valor and fighting capacity of Negroes.

Undoubtedly some Negroes make good soldiers. Physically many of them are just as brave as white people. But it is not believed that on the whole they make as good soldiers as do white men. I have talked to quite a number of officers who were in France in World War No. 1 and they stated off the record, that as a rule the Negro troops did not do themselves as proud as we are led to believe. Several companies of the 92nd Division (Negro troops) ran to the rear under fire in the Argonne fighting.

In February, 1944, Secretary of War Stimson threw a bomb into the ranks of Negro propagandists. Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York sought to find out why several Negro tank destroyer units as well as the 931st Field Artillery Battalion had been broken up and the personnel transferred to quartermaster truck companies. The Secretary of War replied that the record of these two units was unsatisfactory, saying that in selecting combat units to be converted into service units, the War Dept. based its decision solely upon the abilities and capabilities of the personnel. He said:

It so happens that a relatively large percentage of the Negroes inducted in the Army have fallen within the lower educational classifications, and many of the Negro units accordingly have been unable to master efficiently the technique of modern weapons."*

Secretary Stimson's statement aroused the colored press throughout the United States. "Insult to Soldiers—Stimson Must Go!"—a headline in the Washington Afro-American. The New York Amsterdam News roared—"Stimson Indicts Negro Troops" and urged that Stimson be removed. Other Negro papers denounced him.

In another letter on April 8, 1944, Sec. Stimson said: "In a recent study of all men processed at reception centers from June through December 1943, 20% of the Negroes and 74% of the whites were rated in grades I, II and III by army general classification tests; 80% of the Negroes and 26% of the whites fell in grades IV and V."

One of the complaints continually voiced was that Negroes were not given enough combat duty. The truth of the matter is that the high military authorities and theatre-of-war commanders had an aversion to using combat units under the command of Negro officers. Some of them remembered the experience of the last war. Negro troops under Negro officers might give way under fire, and generals could not take chances when there was any doubt.

In this connection Milton Bracher, a correspondent of the New York Times, in a dispatch to his paper on Oct. 30, 1944, written on the Italian front, told about Negro troops of the 92nd Division and

* Officer graduates from the Negro Flying School at Tuskegee, Alabama, made good records. But in training crashes were more frequent and loss to property greater than among white trainees. The number of officer graduates was smaller in proportion to those who began classes than among white candidates.

their fighting qualities. Their commanding general said that the first Negro combat unit to meet the Germans had conducted themselves satisfactorily. But the combat team had a white colonel and lieutenant colonel, although there were many Negro captains and lieutenants. No Negro officer, however, outranked junior white officers. As a sidelight on Negro psychology Negro soldiers were not permitted to carry knives of any sort except the G.I. knife or bayonet which is not concealed. Correspondent Bracher wrote:

Some white officers said some Negro infantrymen tended to "panic" more easily than whites and that the superstition and ignorance of some Southern boys could not be ignored.

Just after the Times correspondent wrote this, the 92nd Division, with different personnel, of course, acted ingloriously as it did in World War I. When the Germans counter-attacked in December, 1944 many of the companies of the 92nd broke and ran. As a result of this break the Germans drove three miles down the Serchio Valley. Truman Gibson, Negro special adviser to the Secretary of War, visited the front sector in Italy to investigate. He talked to both white and colored soldiers, and reported that many units of the division had "melted away", and that some soldiers fled in panic before the enemy. As usual the Negro press in the United States demanded Gibson's resignation and seethed with rage when a member of their own race told the truth. The 92nd Division consisted of approximately 12,000 officers and men. All the enlisted men were Negroes. There were 600 Negro and 200 white officers.* Senator Eastland in his criticism of this division, said that it had the best training and had been furnished with the best equipment.

Complete statistics are not yet available, but it is probable that more Negro troops were court martialed for violating regulations in proportion to their number than white troops.† On September 15, 1944, at San Francisco, fifty Negro enlisted men went on trial on charges of mutiny because they refused to load a navy ammunition

* "There were many [Negro] officer failures. Often incompetent colored officers sought to hide their deficiencies by claiming discrimination. Such officers not only earned the disrespect of the white officers and men but were the subject of ridicule among members of their own race."—Major Robert F. Cocklin, *THE INFANTRY JOURNAL*, Dec., 1946.

† In Normandy from D-Day to May 1945 there were 33 cases of criminal assault by Negroes and 7 by white soldiers according to Sen. Eastland of Miss. in a speech July 1, 1945.

ship after the Port of Chicago explosion on July 17th, in the largest mass court martial in U. S. Naval history, and were convicted.

At Fort Lawton, Washington, on Aug. 14, 1944, Negro stevedore soldiers forced their way into a barracks occupied by prisoners of war, and hanged an Italian. 28 members of the Negro mob were court martialed and convicted. In England in November, 1944, after being ordered to return to camp by the M. P.'s, ten Negro soldiers came back with their rifles and shot up an inn where they had been drinking, killing the hotel proprietor's wife and an M.P. Nine were found guilty of murder.*

Wherever Negro soldiers were quartered there was trouble. In the United States particularly in the South racial fights and riots were frequent. One of the worst riots of the war occurred at Camp Claiborne near Alexandria, La., on Aug. 17, 1944. This was caused by the criminal assault of a sixty-one-year-old white woman by an unidentified Negro. In the riot Negro soldiers fired through barracks housing company officers, wounding one. 14 soldiers were tried for this mutiny and one sentenced to be hanged.

In England there were several cases where Negro soldiers were convicted of rape and hanged.† On Aug. 10, 1944, two Negro privates were hanged for the rape of a sixteen-year-old English girl after being convicted by court-martial and the sentence reviewed and confirmed by General Eisenhower. The white women of Europe have been placed at the mercy of Negro troops, so to speak. After

* It is interesting to note that most convicted Negro soldiers and sailors through the intervention of Negro organizations and political pressure have had their sentences reduced or even voided. For instance, the sentences of fifty men convicted of mutiny at the Port of Chicago explosion were set aside in 1946 after a protest and an "investigation" by the head of the National Urban League. In almost every case where a Negro was convicted Negro organizations interfered, claiming discrimination. Negroes had the "breaks" when it came to military justice.

† The English people did not realize that there is a Negro problem in the United States. They opened up their homes and entertained Negroes rather freely. This caused considerable feeling on the part of the white American soldiers, particularly those from the South. *Time* reported that in Belfast an American Negro soldier was stabbed to death by a white soldier—that two Southerners broke up a party where Negro soldiers were dancing with English girls—that Southern soldiers (U.S.A.) several times stopped English girls from walking with Negro soldiers. But worse, the girls often had affairs with Negro troops. As a result in April, 1947, the *London Daily Mail* said that there were 10,000 illegitimate colored children in England.

the war returning Negro soldiers boasted of their "heart conquests" over German frauleins. This story from News Week (Dec. 3, 1945) while funny is essentially tragic. A Czech girl in the American zone gave herself to one "Willie P. Brown." Suddenly Willie disappeared after promising to marry her. Brokenhearted she went to Army headquarters, who couldn't find Willie on the roster. The girl explained that he was a "night fighter." He had told her that he had been white, but the Army had injected something into him to make him black for fighting better at night. He explained that when he got home, they would give him another injection to make him white again. The girl was surprised that the officer didn't seem to know about "night fighters", as Willie had told her there were plenty of them in the Army—especially from a place the Americans called *Mississippi*.

As reported by the Associated Press on December 22, 1943, the Government of New Caledonia (a French Colony) criticized particularly American Negro troops. Said the Governor, "One situation that has become quite intolerable is the American colored troops; we have many proofs of lack of discipline among them." It must be remembered that the French are more lenient towards Negroes and do not show the racial discrimination that we do. The Governor requested the American commandant to place the City of Noumea "out of bounds" for Negro soldiers. He said, "The colored troops are the terror of the white women of New Caledonia. They have attacked them even in the company of their husbands and brothers. Our women are afraid to go out of the house after nightfall, though recently General Lincoln took action and the situation is a bit better."

After the war the record of Negro troops in occupation zones was discreditable. The Meader report, suppressed for a time by U. S. high officials and released on Dec. 1, 1946, assailed particularly the conduct of Negro troops in Germany. Meader (investigator for a U. S. Senate Committee) reported an astounding venereal disease rate of 897 out of 1,000 for Negro soldiers in March, 1946. In the same month the rate for white troops was 58 per 1,000. For March and April amongst colored troops the AWOL was 19 times that of white soldiers, the crime of assault 6 times and that of robbery 27 times greater. The report stated that many Negro troops were truck drivers who had access to Army supplies, "which they could and did use for the purpose of gaining favor with German women." There were many instances of misconduct of Negro

troops. The War Dept. in Washington was fully aware of these things, "but is reluctant to take any action to correct it because of fear of political repercussions from Negro groups." Mr. Meader concluded his report with the statement of Gen. Joseph McNarney, U. S. Commander in Germany, that the War Dept. should withdraw all Negro troops.

In casting doubts on the soldierly qualities of Negro troops, I am not impugning their patriotism. Nor do I wish to reflect on the brave members of the race who gave their lives for our country. American Negroes are patriotic and they went into service as uncomplainingly as the white selectees. They served with credit in all theatres of war. At home they participated in all war activities such as buying bonds and contributing to the Red Cross.

But Negroes cannot be superior soldiers, except individually, because temperamentally they are unstable and they lack determination. Aside from educational disadvantages, they are not quick enough mentally to learn to operate the complicated machines employed in modern war. Any race of men can be trained to fight. Fighting is an elemental activity. Savages are adept at it. But modern armies require men of a higher type. Undoubtedly whites make the best soldiers.*

NEGROES IN BUSINESS

Negroes have not done well in business. They do not seem to succeed as entrepreneurs. Since to be successful in trade and in finance one must possess initiative, aggressiveness and managerial ability, and these qualities are not usually found in Negroes, the race has produced few business men. It is a striking fact that Negroes own or operate few manufacturing plants or stores.

There were about 1300 Negro manufacturers in the United States in 1930. In 1940 the census does not give the number of Negro establishments but it lists the number of Negro "proprietors, managers and officials" of manufacturing plants and these numbered 917 compared with 419,121 whites of the same classifica-

* "The Negro soldier has been an utter and abysmal failure. I'm not saying that out of prejudice. That is what the responsible generals told us."—Sen. Eastland of Miss., in a speech June 29, 1945. Gen. George Patton was prejudiced against Negro soldiers. He wrote in his diary, *War As I Knew It*, published in 1947 after his death [referring to a tank battalion]: "I expressed my belief at that time, and have never found the necessity of changing it, that a colored soldier cannot think fast enough to fight in armor."

tion. Most of the Negro establishments were small, the largest making hair-straighteners, skin-whiteners and toilet goods.

In 1940 the number of Negro "proprietors, managers and officials" of eating and drinking places was 11,263, and white, 251,323. For retail stores the Negroes numbered 17,422 and the whites 1,388,051. For details of the Negro proprietorships we have the special census report of 1939. This gives a total of 29,827 retail businesses, employing 13,778 people, besides the proprietors (and sometimes members of their families) with total sales of \$71,466,000. (The retail sales in the United States totalled \$42,000,000,000 in 1939.) Of the Negro retail businesses 11,038 were food stores; 12,610 eating places; 2,240 ice and coal; and 1,268 filling stations.

While the Negro has been slow in developing business enterprises, foreigners have done exceedingly well. Foreign-born entrepreneurs owned or operated one-third of the wholesale and retail grocery businesses of the United States in 1930. Greeks, Italians and even Chinese own and operate thousands of successful restaurants and stores. Why can't the Negro at least succeed as a caterer or restaurant operator? Why wouldn't some of them operate restaurants in Northern cities specializing in "Southern" cooking? If properly managed they would no doubt succeed.

Negroes used to operate barbershops, catering to the white trade. Now they seem to be no more. Negroes ought to do well in the laundry business. In the South a few have successful cleaning and pressing shops patronized by whites. But none seemed to have organized or developed modern laundries. Also Negroes have been trained as masons, carpenters and in construction work. It is surprising that some have not developed into contractors. Many a rich white contractor started as an ordinary workman.

Besides beauty, barbering and hair dressing businesses, the most successful Negro business men are undertakers. The 3,000 morticians are the leading business men of all Negro communities.

Negro banks are few and their capital is small. 14 were members of the National Negro Bankers' Association in 1940. In 1938 there were 50 Negro building and loan associations—22 in Penn. "It is significant" says one commentator, "that some of the most successful Negro-managed institutions had a partly white clientele."

Negro life insurance companies are fairly successful. Many have failed, but there are four or five companies doing a national

business. There are all told (1939) 67 Negro insurance companies with 1,677,000 policyholders. Most of these sell industrial insurance. It is really burial insurance, since Negroes all want to have a "fine" funeral. They will keep up this insurance at every sacrifice. The agents of the companies work with the morticians and often the combined operations of the two becomes a "racket."

In education, in the professions and in the arts, Negroes have made wonderful progress, but in business enterprise they lag far behind.* Negroes have shown little aptitude for the art of trading—an art looked down on by the "first estate," but the art that has civilized the world and spread blessings to far away places. Napoleon slurringly referred to the English as a nation of shopkeepers, and money-making Americans seem vulgar to some European aristocrats, but from the time of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, the trading nations have been the civilized nations.

Negroes in Africa never got away from savagery because they made no contacts with foreign peoples, learned nothing from other civilizations. They were not traders. They were not progressive and aggressive enough to venture on voyages for profit. By tradition and by heredity they still lack the vision and the determination to originate and carry to success business enterprises.

* * * * *

It is, of course, easy to criticize and to point out the failings of other people. And the weaknesses of an entire race are always obvious. The Negro possesses more than his share. But some of these deficiencies can be overcome. Today his failings go a long way toward making the Negro disliked. Much of the prejudice against him is due to his failings and not to the color of his skin.

The Negro must learn to develop character. One must travel a long, hard road before achieving character. Too many Negroes fall by the wayside or never even start on the rocky, upward road.

Let us hope that the Negro will endeavor to improve himself morally. If he shows such an inclination we should do all we can to help him overcome his moral weaknesses, and all the other good things to which he is entitled will automatically come to him.

* "The one undoubted solution of the Negro's difficulties throughout the world is for him to turn his strong arms and strong legs, his fine sight, subtle hearing, deft fingers, and rapidly developed brain to making of Money."

—Sir Harry Johnston.

CHAPTER XII.

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND ANTAGONISMS

RACIAL prejudice is a natural phenomenon. It has existed as long as man has been on earth. In fact prejudice or a dislike for those who are "different" is elemental. Intolerance is age-old.

Intolerance is not particularly an American failing, although we have exhibited our share of it. In fact a study of our history shows that the United States was founded by bigots and because of bigotry. The Puritans were persecuted in England, so they came over to new America to get away from intolerance and prejudice. They in turn persecuted Quakers, and sent Roger Williams into the wilderness and banished Anne Hutchinson. The Catholics settled Maryland to escape persecution, and though they were the most liberal of all the colonists, Unitarians and Jews were barred.* The Quakers emigrated to Pennsylvania in order to have religious freedom. They are one of the few sects that did not persecute others because of religious differences, although they may have shown social distinctions against those of other faiths. The Quakers, a remarkably harmless and Christian people, were harried and persecuted in England and in the Protestant colonies. In Virginia, for instance, the Captain of a ship was fined £100 for every Quaker landed in the colony.

All through Colonial times religious intolerance was expressed in vicious laws that brought fines, jail sentences and even death to those of a different faith. In 1647 Massachusetts passed a law, "No Jesuit or spiritual or ecclesiastical person ordained by the Pope or See of Rome shall henceforth come into Massachusetts." In 1700 New York had an anti-Catholic law and in 1757 even Quaker Pennsylvania enacted legislation that took away arms and ammunition from Catholics. In 1787 Catholics could vote in only three states—Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland.

America was founded on intolerance and bigotry and it was only through the efforts of such liberals as Thomas Jefferson,

James Madison, Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin that freedom of religion became an American credo. The idealism of Jefferson and the founding fathers did not, however, prevent the further development of religious intolerance all through the nineteenth century and it exists to a slighter extent even today.

Although there were movements against other religious groups, the agitation and feeling against the Catholics seemed particularly strong. In 1834 a mob burned a convent near Boston. In 1835 S. F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph wrote a book, widely circulated and placed in schools and libraries, which was bitter in its propaganda against Catholics. In 1852 the notorious "Know-Nothing" party, a secret anti-Catholic society, became so strong politically that one of its candidates ran for the presidency of the United States. The "Know-Nothings" were responsible for riots in New York, Maine, Louisville and St. Louis. (In the latter place ten were killed and thirty wounded.)

However, not all the agitation was against Catholics. There was an anti-Masonic movement which lasted from 1826 to 1875, and supporters of this movement became powerful in politics. There have been organized movements against the Mormons and against the Jews. These exhibitions of prejudice and intolerance are lamentable, but they seem to be the result of a weakness inherent in human nature.

One wonders, however, whether or not there is something to be said for intolerance. It is an attitude of mind which stems from determination. A person with a set idea is intolerant of opposition, or of anything that tries to keep him from reaching his goal. All the great men of the world were fanatics. They were fanatical about their own ideas and about what they were trying to accomplish. Fanaticism and intolerance go together. No religion has ever been successful without intolerance. If its followers are not fanatical they make no converts. The Christian religion has succeeded because of the loyalty and enthusiasm and fanaticism of its expounders. Saint Paul was intolerant. The Saviour himself said: "I come not to bring peace but a sword." Under this philosophy the Christian conquerors killed pagans, and throughout the centuries converted by fire and sword as well as by preaching and propaganda. Mohammed and his followers likewise extended Islamism by force of arms. A religious sect must believe that its own dogma alone rep-

* The Maryland Blasphemy Act (1649) punished by death anyone denying, "Our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Sonne of God," and fined £20 "anyone using or uttering reproachful words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles or Evangelists."

resents the truth. This being admitted, then those who disagree are wrong, and the truth is not in them.

Nowadays men do not persecute each other because of religious differences, although they are still prejudiced and intolerant. But economic theories are now the source of an even greater intolerance. Communists and Fascists have persecuted, tormented, exiled, put in jail and killed millions of people merely because of differing economic beliefs.

The truth of the matter is life itself is a matter of prejudice, bias, discrimination and hate. This is not as it should be. But in practical affairs we must take the fact into consideration. Perhaps we should attempt to eliminate hate and inculcate brotherly love, at the same time allowing the right to be prejudiced to prevail. If prejudice and intolerance exist between religious groups, particularly those which practice Christianity, how much more likely are they to be found where races are concerned.

Race prejudice is deep seated in human nature. It is based on the principle of *similia similibus*, that is, like to like. This principle runs through all forms of social organization. "People who like the same things like each other." Conversely those—even in the same social strata—who do not have the same interests, the same tastes or engage in the same activities do not fraternize and are often inimical to each other.

When people differ greatly in their customs, habits, language and culture, the prejudice and bias is even greater. And when we add to this racial differences such as color of skin, the prejudice can hardly ever be overcome. It is thus natural for human beings to have prejudices and to exhibit bias in their relations with each other.

The prejudice against people of a darker race is inborn. This racial prejudice is a protective instinct instituted by Nature to preserve the superior qualities of the lighter colored races. Sir Arthur Keith writes:*

They [prejudices] are essential parts of the evolutionary machinery which Nature employed throughout eons of time to secure the separation of man into permanent groups and thus to attain production of new and improved races of Mankind. . . . Nature endowed her tribal teams with this spirit of antagonism for her own purposes. It has come down to us and creeps out

* "The Place of Prejudice in Modern Civilization"—1931.

from our modern life in many shapes, as national rivalries and jealousies and as racial hatreds. The modern name for this spirit of antagonism is race-prejudice.

Racial prejudice is world wide and has always existed. It is one of the fundamental emotions of human beings. We cannot do away with it by fiat and by propaganda. The lion will not lie down with the lamb, nor the fox treat barnyard fowls with kindness and consideration.

Listen to what Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and public member of the National War Labor Board has to say about prejudice.

Group prejudices are deep in the psychological inheritance of thousands of years in the development of what anthropologists call consciousness of our kind of human being as opposed to their kind of human being with all the attendant fears of the strange and different, and with all the consequent antipathies toward differences in color, race, religion, culture and customs. Racial and religious animosities cannot be isolated in time or place. They are as complex as human psychology, older than history, and as wide as the world. History recalls the antipathies and discriminations in the relations of Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Roman and Provincial, Christian and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, white, red, black, and yellow peoples—fearing and too often hating each other because different in color and race, religion, and region.

Some writers are now claiming that racial prejudice arises from an inferiority complex. As can be easily understood this assumption is based on the fact that many Southern whites in the United States are illiterate and poverty stricken. It is then assumed that this "poor white trash," feeling itself inferior, "takes it out" on another group even in more humble circumstances.*

Dr. Earnest A. Hooton, Harvard Anthropologist, in an address to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at a war time conference in Chicago on July 16, 1944, said: "Racial

* Eugene Pittard ("Race and History") admits that the feeling against the blacks in the United States may be inspired by caste egoism. "But," he says, "has it not also been regarded as an urge of racial instinct which unconsciously is acutely aware of all the consequences of this too dissimilar human intermixture, diminishing each time that it comes about the *ethnic power* of the whites; aware of all the depreciation in value, all the defects which come to the top, and all the political surrenders—and of their repercussions on History?"

prejudice is little more than the cloak to cover an apparently universal desire of selfish and morally low-grade human beings to dominate their fellow beings."

Dr. Hooton is surely one of our leading anthropologists, and I have quoted him as an authority several times in this book, but I must disagree with him when he discusses the psychology and ethics of race prejudice. Racial prejudice may not be admirable in the opinion of some, but to impute the motive back of it to selfishness, and particularly to the desire to dominate, is bad psychology. Racial prejudice is a form of racial pride, and it is difficult to believe that the expression of it comes only from a selfish spirit, that it evidences a desire to dominate other people, or that it is immoral.

The racial prejudice existing in the South goes far deeper than an inferiority complex. Such a "complex" is not the basic reason for the feeling of superiority of one group over the other. The feeling of antipathy is natural prejudice of a light-skinned people against one with a darker skin, and on the observed fact, in the southern United States anyway, of the inferiority of the dark-skinned peoples.*

Negro publicists are wont to tell us that racial prejudice is artificial and unnatural—the product of an inconsistent civilization. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish in the "Races of Mankind" while admitting that there is race prejudice in America and in the world, say that it "isn't an old universal instinct. It is hardly a hundred years old." [Sic!]

Alvin Johnson, writing in the Yale Review (Winter, 1944) states that race prejudice "is not inherent in human nature," and that if it were fundamental, primitive tribes would possess it. He claims that primitive peoples have no racial prejudice, and proves his contention by citing the dubious proof that most of them are mixed. This is a fallacious argument for the reason that tribes in Africa, for instance, while "mixed," would be mostly Negro tribal mixtures, tribes in Polynesia would be Polynesian mixtures and so on. Any prejudice against exotic peoples would not be racial, but simply a prejudice against the unfamiliar.

* Wherever large numbers of full-blooded negroes and of persons of mixed central or north-European and negro blood have lived in the same community for some generations, there is a strong and growing tendency to establish a social line between them.—Encyclopedia Britannica.

Tribal wars are fought wherever different groups of men inhabit the same country. All through recorded history, beginning with the Philistines versus the Israelites in Palestine, we find a dislike of one people for another.

Continues Mr. Johnson. . . . "Race prejudice has no basis in human nature. It is a comparatively recent phenomenon." This is strange doctrine indeed. Not only were there prejudices and intolerances due to religions and customs, but there have always been prejudices due to difference of color of the skin.* A famous quotation from the Bible about the Ethiopian changing his skin implies that those prejudices existed three thousand years ago. And Juvenal in his VI Satire writes: . . . "Thou would perchance become the sire of an Aethiop; a blackamoor would soon be your sole heir, one whom you would not see of a morning," [referring to the "first thing seen" in morning, an important omen of good or bad luck the whole day.]

As soon as the idea that race prejudice is modern was originated by one writer it was seized upon by equalitarians and made a part of their propaganda. It is now being cited by them as the truth. For instance, Prof. Robert Redfield, Dean of the University of Chicago Social Sciences Division,† said: "The first thing to be noted is that the color line is a fairly recent thing in human history. I do not believe that it existed, to any important extent, at least, before about the sixteenth century." This theory is indeed very recent, and not many historians and psychologists will agree with it. I quote John F. Dashiell in his "Fundamentals of General Psychology" (Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y., 1937):

Throughout history, it seems, those who are possessed of a different cast of countenance, shape of body, or manner of speech have been *ausländische* and barbarian to those in power; few peoples have shown the tolerance of the modern Frenchman or Russian.

The ancient Egyptians entertained a feeling of racial superiority. Their name for their own race in hieroglyphics was ROT, which means "race" or the human race par excellence. They regarded themselves as *the* race and looked down upon other races.

* "There is no place on earth where something corresponding to a color line is not drawn between two races occupying the same territory."—Kroeber, Anthropology.

† University of Chicago Round Table Discussion on Aug. 20, 1944.

In the hieroglyphic record of the return of Pharoah Horus of the XVIII Dynasty (about 1600 B.C.) after his victory over a Nigritian people of the upper Nile, the legends above the representations of the prisoners convey a sense of "KeSh", meaning from a barbarian country, or "perverse race".

In Hindu literature there are two great epics, one of which is the Aryan epic, Mahabharata, consisting of a hundred thousand couplets. Although much older it was first committed to writing about the year 300 B.C. The Mahabharata includes legendary and traditionary matter in which the gods are invoked to help against the "black-skinned" Dasysus.

Thus in two ancient civilizations we find records of racial prejudice, particularly against dark-skinned races.

But even among peoples of the same race definite prejudices exist against peoples of other nations because of a difference in language or custom.* Furthermore, most of our studies of primitive life are made among the negroid or darker-skinned peoples. These people seldom have prejudices against a "lighter" race. On the other hand, the lighter colored races might very well and do have prejudices against darker-skinned races.

Although Alvin Johnson makes a statement to the contrary, the ancient Egyptians were racially conscious and tried to keep out of the country, except for the purposes of trade, Ethiopians and Negroes.

When the Aryans went into India they found there a race of dark-skinned peoples—the pre-Dravidian aborigines, the Dasas or Dasyus. These indigenous tribes were also called "noseless" and "black skinned." In the Sanskrit language (the Vedas, 1500 B. C.) the word "varna" means color. It now means caste, signifying that the Indo-Germanic race, or the Aryans, used it to mark the distinction between themselves as light-skinned people and the dark-skinned native tribes. The caste system of India, which has existed for thousands of years, had its origin in the difference between its conquerors and the aboriginal inhabitants, and was based originally on racial color prejudice.

* When Voltaire visited England in 1727 as he walked in the streets he was called names and almost stoned simply because he was a Frenchman. For hundreds of years the English have derisively called the French "frog eaters" and "frogs."

Some writers are saying that racial prejudice is not intuitive, but it is brought about by improper child training and home influences. I quote: "The influence of prejudiced parents is the principal perpetrator of intolerance." Against these opinions of propagandists let us set the dictum of Sir Arthur Keith, world famous anthropologist, that "prejudices are inborn; are part of the birthright of every child."

The best proof that prejudice is elemental is the fact that Negroes themselves show a great deal of it against other members of their own race.*

I am not speaking of the prejudice or discrimination of the honest citizen against the dishonest one, of law-abiding people against those who are chronic law-breakers. But there is a definite prejudice based on the degree of pigment in the skins of those unfortunate enough to be dark skinned.

All writers admit that light-skinned Negroes are prejudiced against those with darker skins. Negroes themselves believe their own dark-skinned individuals are inferior. Negroes always try to "marry lighter," thus unconsciously demonstrating their belief in the superiority of the lighter-skinned.

Eugene Gordon (in the American Mercury, issue of February, 1928) tells about the "exclusive" Negroes of Boston. The *Bachmars* (a name made up from the first syllables of *bachelor* and *married*) is a social organization comprising the Boston Negro "Four Hundred." The swankiest party of the year is given on New Year's Eve, and, says Mr. Gordon, "quality in these guests is determined by whether or not they are 'light' or 'dark' and have 'good' or 'bad' hair. . . . if inadvertently a genuine Negro girl were admitted to a New Year's party she would feel as much at home as a Zulu expatriate among the Igloos."

* In Harlem itself Negroes have shown prejudice against their own kind. When the black immigrant Negroes started coming in from the West Indies to settle in Harlem, they aroused the animosity of the Harlemites. Dressed in their white suits which they brought from Jamaica, the Harlem boys would throw stones at them when they appeared on the streets. Although better educated, Jamaica blacks were unpopular. Roi Ottley quotes a song that was sung in Harlem:

"When a monkey-chaser dies,
Don't need no undertaker;
Just throw him in de Harlem River
He'll float back to Jamaica."

Mr. Gordon points out that Negro professional men prefer to hire white girls instead of colored girls as stenographers. He states that in Boston upper-class Afro-Americans will not be seen eating chicken, water melon, pork chops or any of the foods for which the Negro is famous. Upper-class colored people will not be seen reading a Negro newspaper in public. In other words, high class Negroes are trying to get away from themselves, and, besides disdaining those who have kinky hair and dark skins, they avoid any act or any association with anything that in the mind of the general public suggests the Negro race. At Negro colleges or high schools it is difficult for a dark skinned Negro to get into a Greek letter fraternity.

The preference for a lighter skin over a darker one is noticeable. Even in the remotest regions of the South Negroes will always try to "marry lighter." Says John Dollard in "Caste and Class in a Southern Town" (Yale University Press, 1937), "Consciousness of color and accurate discrimination between shades is a well-developed Negro caste mark in Southerntown." Dollard in one of his "cases" tells of a brown-skinned Negro man discussing with his wife the color of their probable children and telling her that in accordance with the Mendellian law one would be much darker than they were. She became very much upset. In another case a Negro boy was taught by his mother to "prefer" brighter Negro girls.

Dollard's reason for the lighter color preference is that Negroes believe that "lightening" gives them a fuller participation in American society. It seems to me that he has overlooked the real reason, which is the natural one, and that is that "lightness" is more attractive than "darkness."

In "Children of Bondage" by Allison Davis and John Dollard the writers state: "By indirection the caste sanctions also appear within the Negro family and school in the form of distinctions between children upon the basis of their color, hair-form and type of facial contour. . . . The Negro class sanctions, moreover, are in part organized around differences in color, hair-form and features."

* "In these centers [Charleston and Washington] there exists and is recognized among the Negro element of the population an aristocracy of those who are light in color, who form an exclusive social set, who intermarry with each other, and who hold themselves aloof from the remainder of the community."—"Illegitimacy in New York City" by Ruth Reed.

This desire to lighten the race is world wide.* The Chinese were glad to marry or breed with the Caucasian race and so were the Japanese. It has been said that the Japanese government has favored and encouraged "Madam Butterflies" in Japan. South Sea islanders, East Indians, and all dark-skinned women are glad to bear children by men of the white race.

Pierson says that in Brazil, "Dark mothers who bear white children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. The black mother proudly showed her light child and said 'I am cleaning (whitening) my race'."

Although Brazil is the best of all possible Negro-white worlds—a "paradise" of racial equality according to Dr. Park—where the color line is supposed to be obliterated, there is more racial prejudice in that country than would appear on the surface. Donald Pierson in his extensive study of Brazil claims that there is no color line, and that such distinction as exists is based on economic considerations. Yet Pierson contradicts himself several times in his own book. On Page 148 we find:

Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus of 149 students classifying themselves as *brancos* (whites) and responding to the query: "Do you object to marrying a *preto* (black)," 139 or 93%, replied, "Yes," of 140 similar students, 93 or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

In Bahia Pierson says of one of the most exclusive clubs, "No black has yet been admitted, although several mixed bloods and even a few dark mulattoes are regular and honored members. Whites of course predominate." He noted that the man who is probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, the son of a white planter and a black slave, is not a member. Pierson tells of a tea dance at a Bahia club in honor of President Vargas at which six hundred of the City's

* In Africa itself the natives look forward to a lighter skin, if not in this world, then in the next. In Tylor's *Primitive Culture* we find (Pg. 6, Vol. II): "In Africa, again, the belief is found among the Western Negroes that they will rise again white, and the Bari of the White Nile, believing in the resurrection of the dead on earth, considered the first white people they saw as departed spirits thus come back."

most distinguished citizens and their families were present. No blacks were among the guests. Only twenty-eight individuals were noticeably negroid, six of whom were dark mulattoes.

Pierson points out that there is even race prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro,* and that in 1935 there was organized "The Brazilian Movement Against Race Prejudice." He tells of a mixed blood Bahian who upon returning from a visit to Rio Grande do Sul complained that in that province he had been referred to as "a Negro," and was made to feel uncomfortable.

There is also quite a good deal of class feeling among Negroes. A footnote in "An American Dilemma" states that upper class Negroes of the North are not pleased to see southern Negroes come up there. Said an upper class Negro in Chicago, "We really don't mingle with the southern Negroes, and they don't come near us as they know that we are northerners!"

Negroes, when they have a chance, soon show the same class feeling as is evinced by white people. In Chicago there is a settlement inhabited by Negroes known as *Lilydale*. In recent years wealthy Negroes have moved out to this section and built fine homes there. But they did not care to be identified with the common Negroes already living in that community so they called their particular section "Westchester." Recently the Chicago Housing Authority decided to erect a war housing project, and picked out a site near the Westchester-Lilydale area. A group of Negroes organized a citizens committee, which passed a resolution protesting against the carrying out of the project, saying that it would bring an undesirable element into the community and depreciate property values. The citizens committee was composed of doctors, dentists, lawyers and school teachers. One of the ring leaders is the only Negro high school head in Chicago. It is easy to see that prejudice is not confined to the white race and that even the Negro race itself shows it.†

* In an article in the Negro Digest, Ollie Stewart, correspondent for the *Afro-American*, tells of a trip to Rio de Janeiro in 1940. Five leading hotels including the famous Copacabana refused to give him a room. "No blacks allowed here," one clerk told him. He finally found a room in a modest hotel which did not draw the color line.

† Caste is prevalent among whites too. All are not equal socially. In every city and town in the United States there is a country club set which calls itself exclusive. And those from across the railroad tracks who try to rise have a hard time.

Negroes themselves exhibit intense race prejudice. In the first place, they are particularly prejudiced against the white race. They are generally bitter against Caucasians.

At a meeting of the National Urban League in September 1943 at Chicago, Dr. Ira Reid, Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University, astonished his hearers when he said, "We have talked a great deal and demanded much, in that the white man abandon his prejudices against the Negro, but we have done little toward breaking down the Negro's prejudices against the whites. . . . We have got to teach our people that if we do not want to be hated, we must not ourselves hate."

In Harlem an anti-Jewish movement has developed. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that most of the stores and loan companies are run by Jews. Many of the landlords and rent collectors are Jews. The Jew is the main point of white contact with the Negroes. Thus we find Negroes in Harlem harboring an anti-Semitic sentiment.

In the United States race prejudice is not confined to the South. While people in other sections of the United States may be not quite as exacting in their prejudice—they will, for instance, call Negroes Mr., Mrs. or Miss and associate with them at school—they do practice racial discrimination.* Northerners have little respect for the efficiency of the average Negro, and they do not recognize Negroes socially to any greater extent than do Southern people. Negroes themselves say that they are handicapped in the North economically and socially because of the indifferent or the prejudiced attitude of Northern people.

The Negro is not the only race which feels the effects of race prejudice in the United States. Among the others are the Japanese, the Chinese, the Mexicans and even people from South America.

On the Pacific Coast racial prejudice was first exhibited against the Chinese. As long ago as 1885 the Chinese were excluded from this country. Soon the Japanese started coming in. Then laws were passed prohibiting their immigration. The feeling against the Japanese in California and the far West is even stronger today than it ever has been.

* "There is probably more discrimination in the mixed schools than in the segregated ones in the North; frequently Negroes in mixed schools are kept out of swimming, dancing and athletics, and out of social clubs."

—An American Dilemma.

After Pearl Harbor when the Japanese were moved from the West Coast and placed in nine internment camps, some felt that California was losing its best farmers and the state would suffer economically. But the California people did not miss the Japanese and Japanese-American citizens, and many Californians hoped that they would never be allowed to return after the war.

Some 112,000 Japanese were moved out of California, but far more food is being produced in California today without the Japanese than was produced with their help. In 1943 California vegetable and melon crops showed an increase in receipts over the 1942 crops of \$58,114,000.* In Santa Maria, Calif., where 90% of the truck farms were operated by Japanese, the California Farm Bureau Federation reports that "without exception these truck farms have all been taken over and operated more efficiently than when the Japanese were here. Japanese, as a whole did not do a great amount of the labor involved. This was done, as it is now, by Filipinos and Mexicans."

As a result of this racial bitterness the few thousand Japanese internees that were allowed to leave the camps moved eastward.†

There has been some objection to Japanese in other parts of the country. Even New York's then Mayor LaGuardia, who was liberal when it came to racial matters, objected strenuously to the opening of a hostel in New York City for relocated Japanese. In spite of the Mayor's blast against the hostel it was opened on May 10th. The first to receive its hospitality were a Japanese gardener, who lived in the United States twenty-eight years, and his son and daughter. Residents in the neighborhood in Brooklyn where the hostel was located expressed antagonism, and the police had to keep a 24-hour guard outside the hostel to protect it.

The public feeling against Japanese ran high in California. One farmer, at a meeting where the eventual return of the Japanese was being discussed, growled:

* Statistics compiled by the California Crop and Live Stock Reporting Service.

† According to the New York Times of May 6, 1944: "Official records now indicate that there are about 1,800 relocated Japanese in Utah, 2,000 in Colorado, 5,000 in Illinois (principally Chicago), about 1,400 in Michigan and 750 to 800 in New York. There are other large groups in Idaho, Minnesota and other states; in fact, some relocated Japanese are to be found in every State except those West Coast ones which bar them arbitrarily."

"You've got shotguns, haven't you? You know how to use 'em don't you?"

The District Attorney of Los Angeles County said that he had received letters from several organizations "pledged to kill any Japanese who came to California then or after the war."

Other western authorities predicted trouble, such as the California Joint Immigration Committee, an organization which represents the American Legion, the State Federation of Labor and the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West. During the war there were many California organizations which attacked not only the Japanese but the Japanese-Americans. A leaflet widely distributed read, "Any man can become an American citizen but a Japanese is and always will be a stabber in the back." Another folder stated that no Japanese is now fit to associate with human beings. The Los Angeles Times took a poll of its readers, and five to one were in favor of barring the Japanese permanently from the Pacific Coast.

According to TIME, Kent, a little town in the center of a truck growing section near Seattle, before the war had 1600 Japs. The mayor posted signs reading: "We don't want the Japs back here ever." Resolutions asking that the United States deport all Japanese after the war were passed unanimously by the Portland Progressive Business Men's Club, the Oregon State Legion and the Mother Lodge of the Fraternal Order of Eagles with 15,000 members.

While the war fanned the smouldering fire into flames, there has always been an anti-Japanese and an anti-Chinese sentiment in the West.* California and the Pacific Coast states have segregation laws and laws that prohibit the intermarriage of races. Although the number of Japs and Chinese is proportionately small (1940—Japanese 127,000; Chinese, 78,000) the percentage of the total popula-

* Even the Canadians have prejudices. Howard Green, Progressive-Conservative member from Vancouver, British Columbia, urged in the House of Commons at Ottawa on May 19, 1944, that after the war all Japanese, including those born in Canada, be transferred to some Pacific islands to be taken from the Japanese. He said that the people of British Columbia are determined that the Japanese who had been moved out of that province will not be allowed to return. He quoted Harold Butler, former Secretary of the International Labor Office, as saying: "the segregation of races with strong mutual antipathies is one of the conditions of peace."

tion is much less than that of the Negroes in the Southern States, and yet the good Americans on the Pacific Coast feel very strongly about a race of a different color and of a different culture.

Since the war many Japs have returned to the Coast. There has been some disorder, but on the whole the people let them alone.

Another race problem affecting another people arises in Texas and Arizona. There is quite a feeling against Mexicans in these states. While Jim Crow laws do not apply to Mexicans, yet there is a great deal of voluntary segregation because Mexicans have their own communities in the larger cities and they are naturally grouped in certain schools. In Texas, particularly away from the border, many people treat the Mexicans as if they were Negroes. In some parts of the state they are forced to ride in Jim Crow cars and to go to separate schools.

The social status of the Mexicans in Texas is not very high. They are accustomed to a low standard of living. For this reason Mexicans are generally looked down upon. This sentiment against the Mexicans,* or "greasers" as they used to be called, does not set well with the Mexican government and that country has complained about the discrimination against Mexicans.

During the war nearly 100,000 Mexican laborers were permitted to enter the United States to work. But the Mexicans complained about "No Mexicans" signs put up in border states. The Minister of Labor in Mexico for a time refused to allow laborers to go to work in Texas because of "cases of extreme, intolerable racial discrimination."

Efforts are being made to placate Mexico and to foster a "good neighbor" policy by liberalizing our attitude towards Mexican labor which comes freely into this country. There is opposition, however, to the bringing in of this labor to work in our fields, and Congress is being asked by some to put a stop to Mexican immigration.

RIOTS

Racial prejudice shows itself in riots, lynchings and other disorders and conflicts arise between races in the United States. There have been many such occurrences and it might be well to consider some of them.

* In California there is likewise a feeling against the Mexicans, and not long ago the zoot suit riots in Los Angeles were supposed to be the result of anti-Mexican feeling. In Los Angeles 10% of the population is Mexican, and 4% Negro, but 35% of its juvenile arrests are Mexicans and 14% Negro.

In 1943 the country was aroused by two serious riots: one in Detroit and the other in New York City. The trouble in Detroit was a true racial riot since Negroes and whites fought each other, but the disturbance in Harlem (New York City) was not bi-racial, since all the rioting was done by Negroes. It was an example of Negro hoodlumism.

The history of race riots in the United States goes back before the Revolution. In 1741 in New York City occurred one of the country's first race riots, although more in the nature of a slave uprising. Several white people were killed and many buildings set on fire. The citizens suppressed the rioters, and 150 Negroes and 25 white people were arrested and tried, 14 were burned alive, 18 were hanged and some deported.

In the South there were a few slave uprisings, but actually until the time of the Civil War there were no race riots.

The first real race riot occurred in New York City in 1862. It was incident to the draft riots, but the whites attacked Negroes, burned their homes, and hanged them to lamp posts. Soldiers had to be called out to put down the riot which raged for three days. Over 4,000 persons were killed, 1,000 wounded, and property to the extent of \$2,000,000 destroyed. It is estimated that there were 10,000 victims.

Right after the war on July 30, 1866, there was a race riot in New Orleans in which 38 persons were killed and 146 wounded. 34 of the 38 were Negroes.

Among serious race riots was one in New York in 1900. In another in 1908 at Springfield, Ill., many Negroes were killed and wounded and thousands were forced to leave. There was a big riot in Harlem on March 19, 1935, and the street warfare between whites and Negroes resulted in one death and the wounding of 100 men, whites and Negroes.

There have been, of course, quite a number of riots or fights between Negro soldiers and white soldiers or between Negro soldiers and the white populace, and these disturbances were not confined to the South. In the first World War there was a great deal of trouble of this kind. In 1917, there was a two-day riot in East St. Louis, Ill., in which thousands of Negroes were driven from their homes and over two hundred killed. In Houston, Texas, a company of Negro soldiers ran amuck and shot up the town. They were court-martialed and thirteen of them hanged and 41 given life sentences.

In 1919 there were riots in 26 cities, and in Chicago 15 whites and 26 Negroes were killed. In Phillips County, Arkansas, over 25 persons were killed.

In World War No. 2 there has been considerable trouble between the soldiers and between Negro soldiers and white people. In Alexandria, La., and Fort Dix, N. J., there were serious clashes between white and Negro soldiers. In Greenville, Pa., for instance, on July 12, 1943, one soldier was killed and six wounded when Negro and white troops fought at an army personnel replacement depot. A dispute arose between the white and the colored soldiers. A group of Negroes broke into a supply building, armed themselves with rifles and began firing on the whites. They were soon captured.

In 1943 there were race riots at Beaumont, Los Angeles, Detroit, Mobile, Newark and New York City.

The famous riot in Detroit occurred on June 20, 1943. It started at Belle Isle Park in the Detroit River where 100,000 persons, the majority of whom were Negroes, were enjoying themselves. A white man and a Negro started fighting and others joined in. Rumors spread and by midnight there was fighting, rioting and looting in several Negro districts. Negro mobs stoned white factory workers and attacked others. The rioting and disorder lasted from Sunday evening until Tuesday morning when 6,000 U. S. Army troops patrolled the city. 25 Negroes and nine white people were killed, many wounded and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property destroyed.

As usual, many reasons are given for the cause of the Detroit riot and they range all the way from poor housing to Axis influence with Henry Ford behind it all.

Negrophiles said that Southern whites in Detroit caused the trouble, but Dr. C. F. Ramsey, Director of the Michigan Department of Social Welfare, a well-known sociologist, after an investigation, reported that migration was not the cause and that the war-induced influx of workers from the South was "almost no factor" in the outbreak of fighting between Negroes and whites. Dr. Ramsey questioned nearly 500 persons arrested during the riots and found that most of them had lived in Detroit more than five years. Many of the Negroes who talked to Dr. Ramsey reported "no racial discriminations in their school or employment experiences."

This is particularly interesting since many have charged that the trouble was caused by the animosity towards Negroes on the part

of thousands of Southern workers who came to Detroit for war work. Others blamed the Negroes themselves, and saying that Negro newcomers from the South found a freedom in Detroit to which they were not used, and that they became too "cocky."

Negroes in Detroit accused the police. Magazines printed a picture showing a white man slapping a Negro while he is being held by two policemen. This proves, they say, that the police were antagonistic. Some said that juvenile delinquency was the cause since many of those who participated in the riot were boys.

As with the trouble in Harlem, many assigned as the cause for the Detroit racial disturbance, the lack of adequate housing. For hundreds of years people have been crowded in slums and in tenements in Europe, in China and India. In the United States in all of our large cities there are bad housing conditions with lack of toilet facilities. In the history of the world there have been few riots, if any, brought about by lack of houses—lack of bread, yes. If Negroes use that as an excuse, they are taking the wrong means to improve their housing conditions.

Radicals, of course, charged that the riot was caused by subversive enemy influence. Albert E. Kahn, Secretary of the American Counsel against Nazi Propaganda, on September 29, 1943, blamed the Detroit race riots on fifth column activities. Kahn as one of the authors of the book "Sabotage" said: "I believe that one of the reasons there has been less action against fifth columnists is because most of them work for Henry Ford." The F. B. I., the Detroit municipal authorities, the Dies Committee, the Navy Intelligence, the Army Intelligence, the Attorney General's Office for the State of Michigan, all investigated the Detroit riots, and found "no evidence of any plan or plans or any inspiration coming from enemy influence or any other organized influence which brought about the racial rioting."

Governor Kelly's Fact Finding Committee reported that, among other causes, the riot resulted from smouldering racial tension which inflamed as the result of several disconnected incidents in Belle Isle Park provoked by young Negro hoodlums, and that irresponsible white and Negro youths caused most of the casualties and damage. Governor Kelly's Committee also said that the rioting was partly due to inflammatory articles in the Negro press, and reported: "perhaps most significant in precipitating the racial tension existing in Detroit is the positive exhortation by many Negro

leaders to be militant in the struggle for racial equality." According to the report the rioting was started by two Negro youths who wanted to get even with white boys for having been ejected from another park a few nights before.

Thus we see that Negroes themselves are most responsible for the riots in Detroit. First, they laid the ground work for the trouble when their leaders aroused them to fight for their rights with radical and incendiary articles in Negro publications. Second, the riot was begun by two Negro boys who attacked white boys at the park, and the looting and further rioting was caused by the spread of a false rumor by a Negro to the effect that the whites had killed a colored woman and a child at Belle Isle and had thrown their bodies into the Detroit River.

In Harlem (New York City) just a few weeks later (August 1943) there was another riot which caused the death of six people, the wounding of 543 more and the destruction of approximately \$5,000,000 worth of property. More than 500 people were arrested, among them were 100 women carrying loot. Most were Negro youths, and several wore zoot suits. Among those arrested were two Negro soldiers and a Negro marine.

The riot started when a policeman attempted to arrest a Negro woman for disorderly conduct in a hotel which had a bad reputation when a soldier interfered, and seizing the policeman's night stick knocked him down. The policeman shot the private. At first crowds gathered around the hospital where the wounded men were taken, and then gangs of hoodlums started running around breaking windows and looting.

During the riot the most frequent manifestations were the throwing of stones and bottles from roof tops and the breaking of store windows followed by looting. According to the New York Times, the main shopping thoroughfares around West 125th Street and Seventh and Eighth Avenues looked as if they had been swept by a hurricane or an invading army. Windows were smashed, fixtures wrecked, and the gutters piled with foodstuffs, canned goods, clothing, household furnishings and other articles that the looters could not carry off.

All sorts of stores were sacked, but particularly jewelry stores, pawn shops, grocery, delicatessen and food stores. The damage for plate glass and window breaking alone amounted to \$1,500,000. Many stores lost everything, and their stocks could not be replaced.

Over 400 stores had broken windows and of the 40 liquor stores in Harlem, 30 were cleaned of their stock. The Secretary of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce said that the rioting was carried on mainly by zoot suiters from 16 to 22 years old and that a number of young girls took part in it.

Negro apologists rushed into print to place the blame for the riot on everything except the deficiencies of their own race. The Secretary of the communist party came out immediately with "Our demands for the wiping out of Jim Crowism, discriminations, high rent, bad housing, high prices and police callousness that are the root cause for the profound dissatisfaction among the Negro people."

In spite of the fact that white people had nothing to do with the rioting in Harlem except that it was set off when a white policeman, attempting to do his duty, was attacked by a Negro soldier—all sorts of organizations and prominent individuals issued statements and opinions and laying the cause of the riot on racial hatred and prejudice.*

It is remarkable how many excoriate the police, and charge that the police are brutal, or that they exceed their authority, and even that they violate the law. If the police were not well organized and forceful enough to command respect, in certain sections of our large cities conditions would be terrible indeed. The policeman's lot is not a happy one, particularly in slum sections where there are organized gangs of "toughs," but policemen protect society against the forces of crime and on the whole they are doing a good job. In fact, sometimes policemen are not forceful enough.

Recently in Brooklyn a Grand Jury protested against disorderliness and hoodlumism in "Little Harlem," and a social worker explained that one of the causes of the crime wave was the fact the policemen on duty in this section were not "tough" enough. She was probably right.

The then Negro Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr., assigned among others as the cause of the Harlem riot, "the unusual high rents and cost of living forced upon the Negroes in Harlem." This

* The New York Times reporter in describing the Harlem riot, wrote: "Both riots Detroit and Harlem had similar powder-keg backgrounds in the rapid growth and overcrowding of Negro districts in recent years, charges of discrimination in the Army, Navy and war industry, demands for economic and social equality, and the rise of Negro and radical agitators preying on these conditions."

is a pretty how-to-do when American citizens break windows, destroy property and steal merchandise because of high rents, over crowding and the high cost of living!*

If they had been starving perhaps you could not have blamed the Harlem Negroes for rioting to get bread, but most of the looted goods in the Harlem riot consisted of diamonds, jewelry, and liquor as well as foodstuffs.

In assigning reasons for the Harlem riots negrophiles have used all the old arguments, including the failure to pass the anti-poll tax bill, Jim Crowism in the South, bad housing, lack of recreational facilities, lack of educational facilities, race prejudice, over crowding, poverty, discrimination by employers of labor, and so on. Walter White, Secretary of N.A.A.C.P. even suggested that because "the mistreatment of Negro soldiers, particularly in the South, is a terribly sore point with Negroes," the Harlem Negroes were disgruntled and this was the beginning of the trouble. Actually the Harlem riot was not a race riot at all. It was simply a display of hoodlumism and low mob psychology.

Magistrate Thomas A. Aurelio (now Judge of the Supreme Court of N. Y.) said of the Harlem disorder: "Now, of late, on the slightest provocation, large numbers are moved to disorder, as if giving expression to some pent-up feeling. It seems to me some insidious propaganda is misleading otherwise would-be peaceful people."

Race riots are not confined to urban communities. Farmers in different sections of the country are often aggressive in their racial dislikes. In the South this has often taken the form of a lynching. But elsewhere there occur race clashes.

LYNCHINGS

Racial prejudice expresses itself in its most cruel form when there is a lynching of a Negro by whites. Lynchings reached their apex in 1901 when 130 individuals in the United States were put to death by mobs.

The following table is taken from World Almanac compiled by Monroe W. Work, Director of Department of Records and Research,

* Thomas H. Doyle, President of the Midtown Real Estate Association, wrote the New York Times that the Harlemites do not pay inordinately high rents. He stated that a fair comparison for many types of apartments in other parts of the city similar to those in Harlem showed "that actually rents in Harlem are considerably lower than rents paid by white tenants."

Tuskegee Institute, and gives the record of lynchings in this country up until the end of 1943.

LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1900

Year	White	Negro	Total
1900	9	106	115
1901	25	105	130
1902	7	85	92
1903	15	84	99
1904	7	76	83
1905	5	57	62
1906	3	62	65
1907	2	58	60
1908	8	89	97
1909	13	69	82
1910	9	67	76
1911	7	60	67
1912	2	61	63
1913	1	51	52
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	3	35	38
1918	4	60	64
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	51	57
1923	4	29	33
1924	0	16	16
1925	0	17	17
1926	7	23	30
1927	0	16	16
1928	1	10	11
1929	3	7	10
1930	1	20	21
1931	1	12	13
1932	2	6	9
1933	4	24	28
1934	0	15	15
1935	2	18	20

<i>Year</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
1936	0	9	9
1937	0	8	8
1938	0	6	6
1939	1	2	3
1940	1	4	5
1941	0	4	4
1942	0	5	5
1943	0	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,291	3,413	4,704

In 1944 there were 2 lynchings, one in 1945, and 6 in 1946.

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

<i>State</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ala.	47	299	346
Ariz.	29	0	29
Ark.	59	226	285
Calif.	41	2	43
Colo.	66	2	68
Dela.	0	1	1
Fla.	28	251	279
Ga.	37	483	520
Idaho	20	0	20
Ill.	14	17	31
Ind.	33	14	47
Iowa	17	2	19
Kansas	35	19	54
Ky.	64	141	205
La.	56	334	390
Md.	2	27	29
Mich.	7	1	8
Minn.	5	4	9
Miss.	41	528	569
Mo.	51	70	121
Mont.	82	2	84
Neb.	52	5	57
Nev.	6	0	6
N. J.	0	1	1
N. M.	33	3	36
N. Y.	1	1	2

<i>State</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
N. C.	15	84	99
N. D.	13	3	16
Ohio	10	16	26
Okla.	82	41	123
Oreg.	20	1	21
Pa.	2	6	8
S. C.	4	155	159
S. D.	27	0	27
Ten.	48	201	249
Texas	143	345	488
Utah	6	2	8
Va.	16	83	99
Wash.	25	1	26
W. Va.	21	28	49
Wis.	6	0	6
Wyo.	30	5	35

Lynchings were generally instigated by the crime of rape. In sparsely settled communities where the Negroes outnumbered the whites it was necessary to deal promptly and severely with the raper of a white woman. The law's delay* and the necessity for the victim's testifying in court against her assailant aggravated the feeling against the criminal, and brought about mob law.

It will be seen that there has been a gradual decline, and in 1943 there were no lynchings at all. Over one-fourth of the victims of lynchings were white, and mob justice—or injustice—is meted

* The Scottsboro case is a famous example of this. As an interesting sequel to the Scottsboro case, on July 14, 1942, the New York Times reported that Willie Roberson, one of the Scottsboro defendants, was convicted of annoying a woman on the B. M. T. subway. Roberson, who had been freed five days before because of the organized activity in behalf of the Scottsboro defendants, came to New York under the guardianship of his lawyer—now judge—Samuel S. Liebowitz. It would seem that after Willie's experience and his escape from the gallows he would leave white women alone. Perhaps in the Scottsboro affair he was guilty after all. Roberson was sentenced to ninety days in the workhouse and severely reprimanded by the magistrate. Another principal in the Scottsboro case, Clarence Norris, now 32 years old, was declared delinquent and returned to prison in September, 1944, after nearly nine months on parole. Judge Alexander Smith said the parole board had advised with Norris and tried hard to get him to work.

out in nearly all states of the Union. Forty-two states—all except the six New England states—had all the way from one to 572 lynchings in forty-four years.

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According to Tuskegee Institute, which tabulates lynchings, six out of every seven lynchings have been prevented in the South in the last ten years by courageous peace officers, alert public officials and because of popular re-action against mob rule. In this time there have been 273 lynchings prevented against 43 actually carried through. Not all these were in the South. Ohio saved two white men, Massachusetts a white man and Kansas a Negro.*

That race prejudice exists and that it is a reasonable one is proved by our immigration laws in which the principle of discrimination is applied in full force.

There is, of course, a very practical side to the immigration laws. If millions of people from all parts of the globe were allowed to come into the United States, they would break our labor market, destroy our American way of doing things and eventually over run and dilute the Anglo-Saxon strain that has been responsible for the United States becoming a great country. 125,000,000 Chinese could emigrate to the United States, and, without affecting the economy of China, except perhaps to improve it, would turn a large part of our country into a Chinese province. If the theory that all races are equal is a sensible one, wouldn't it be a logical thing to do to open up our country to the Chinese who admittedly have many virtues as a people? If we brought in 50,000,000 or 100,000,000 of them we could settle up our vacant lands, real estate values would be enhanced, there would be a larger market for our manufacturers, and trade would increase. There are many arguments why it would to our advantage to let down the bars and permit the yellow racial flood to pour into our country. But no sane person would advocate allowing these millions of orientals to crowd into our cities and spread out on our farms to destroy us by suffocation.

The prejudice against dark-skinned peoples is world wide. It is exhibited by white people wherever they go. In South Africa the

* Negroes themselves are not always averse to lynching. *Time* reported that in Chicago in Oct. 1946, Negroes, holding an anti-lynching rally, got mad at a heckler and threatened to lynch him. On Oct. 20, 1947, at Perry, Ga., outraged members of a Negro community tried to lynch a Negro who raped a 9-year-old Negro girl. The accused was saved by the sheriff.

same color problem exists as in the United States. In Australia there is a definite prejudice against all colored peoples, and no Negro, Mongolian or Malay can settle in that white man's country.

The Russians apparently have no race prejudice. That is, they are not allowed to have any because the dogma of the communist party is against it. Lenin abolished all class distinctions and punished severely any racial discrimination. Ironically, Lenin could hardly be said to have been a tolerant and unprejudiced person. As Russia develops the people become prosperous, and with more freedom, class and later racial prejudice will crop out again. Today there are classes in Russia. Not all are equal.

Prejudice does not necessarily develop into hate. One may be prejudiced against a certain person without hating him. In fact the most tolerant person is one who feels kindly towards another against whom he is prejudiced.

Paradoxically those who inveigh against race prejudice are often the most intolerant. PM, the well-written and interesting New York daily paper, is a good example. PM explodes with invective against any individual or group which does not meet with its approval. It is particularly rancorous when racial questions are discussed. Its reports of the sedition trial in Washington, where twenty-eight persons were tried for conspiracy to upset our form of government, were most unfair and filled with sarcasm, ridicule and downright hate. For conservative groups and so-called capitalists, PM has only scorn and vindictiveness. PM is one of the finest examples of a hate sheet that flourishes in this country. There are, of course, Negro newspapers and magazines which are even worse. They are masters of diatribe and denunciation. They make bitter, vitriolic, slurring attacks on southern whites. When it comes to racial hate and intolerance, these newspapers and magazines have no equals.

It might be said that there is more race *prejudice* among whites against Negroes, but there is more race *hate* among Negroes against whites.

Whatever may be said against it, insofar as it keeps the race pure, race prejudice is admirable and even necessary.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHAT AMERICAN NEGROES WANT

BESIDES the general movement to bring about social equality leaders of the Negro race in the United States are asking for greater economic and political rights. Entering the field of international politics, they are demanding these rights for all the darker races of the world.

On their list of wrongs to be righted, other than those enumerated in the pre-election agenda given below, are many grievances. Among them are poor educational facilities, lack of economic opportunity, unequal wages for equal work, poor housing conditions, injustice in Southern courts, infrequent jury service, non-employment as policemen and officers of the law, and such minor irritations as the omission of courtesy titles of *Mr.* and *Mrs.* and *Miss* when addressing Negroes, the spelling of the word *Negro* with a small "n," and so on.

In December 1943 representatives of twenty-five Negro organizations met and drafted a declaration of rights to be presented to both the great political parties in the United States before the coming presidential election. The Negro organizations demanded:

1. The right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes
2. Action against the evil of lynching and mob violence.
3. An end to imperial and colonial exploitation.
4. An end to segregation and the Jim Crow law.
5. End of discrimination in the armed forces with the following provisions:
 - a. Full integration of the Negro in the armed forces without segregation.
 - b. Abolition of quotas by race in the Medical Corps, Nurses Corps, etc.
 - c. A program of education to bring about democratic race relations.
 - d. Acceptance of Negroes as commissioned officers in the Navy and likewise women in the WAVES and SPARS without segregation.
 - e. Abolition of segregation in recreational and other facilities in Army and Navy posts.
 - f. Equal opportunity to serve in combat.

On June 6, 1944, just before the first session of the Republican Convention there appeared in leading newspapers throughout the country an advertisement with the caption, "A message to the Republican and Democratic Conventions from the Negroes of America." The same twenty-five organizations, claiming to represent 6,500,000 Negroes, paid for the advertisement, which said in part:

We are concerned that this war bring to an end imperialism and colonial exploitation. We believe that political and economic democracy must displace the present system of exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India and all other colonial areas. We insist that all parties and candidates formulate a foreign policy which will recognize China as an equal partner with America, England, and Soviet Russia and which will resolutely and unequivocally oppose either perpetuation or extension of exploitations based upon "white superiority" or economic or political advantage to "white" nations at the expense of the two-thirds of the people of the earth who are brown, yellow, or black of skin. The United States must point the way by including Negroes among its representatives at the peace conference or peace conferences and among its diplomats, technical and professional experts engaged in international postwar reconstruction.

Let us look at the Negro Race's bill of complaints to see how far they are justified, and whether there is not some overemphasis on the hardships and oppressions that Negroes are said to endure in the United States. Let us examine the demands that we meddle in the affairs of other countries, and attempt to "free" Africa, the West Indies, Polynesia, etc. from the white man's "yoke."

VOTING

As everyone knows, Negroes, except to a limited extent, are not permitted to vote in the South. They are prevented from voting by various kinds of legal devices such as a poll tax payment, registration, educational tests and so on. The number of Negro voters is held down to a small number.

Even without legal limitation, in many small communities Negroes would be prevented from voting by the white people; either, because of openly expressed threats, or because the Negroes themselves believe it to be a good policy not to take part in a white man's election.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Texas case, however, brought the South closer to the fact of Negro

voting. It is possible that the insistence of Southern Negroes on taking part in democratic primaries may result in increased racial tension, bad feeling and even in bloodshed.

The South had an unfortunate experience in Reconstruction days when Negro majorities in Southern legislatures squandered millions of public monies and increased the bonded indebtedness of various states to such an extent that many of these bonds were later repudiated. It is true that these legislatures were dominated by the so-called "carpet baggers."*

Logically it would seem that the Negro in the South as well as the North has a right to vote. Having been declared a citizen he has a right to take part in electing those who are to govern him. From a practical standpoint, however, in the South, particularly since Reconstruction days, this right has had to be compromised. In many counties in the states of the South the Negro outnumbers the whites. Since the Negro is ignorant, of low morals, and inexperienced as a citizen, to turn over to him the direction of the affairs of a state, county or city would make for inefficient government and create an intolerable condition. This is exactly what happened in Reconstruction days.† It became necessary for the white people to take charge of affairs in order to obtain efficient and economical government, and to establish courts of justice that would be fair and honest.

For this reason the white people of the South have felt justified in keeping out of the hands of an ignorant, inefficient and unmoral, if not immoral people, the power to hurt themselves as well as all other citizens.

To give the Southern Negro generally the right to vote will bring about the rise of demagogues and a class of professional politicians who will make promises and advocate laws detrimental to

* These were people who came South after the war to prey on the impoverished and war-wearied peoples of both white and colored races. On leaving home they wrapped their entire possessions in a piece of carpet tied with a strap; hence the name "carpet bagger." Many of them got rich in short order and while doing so they stirred up trouble between the races.

† If Lincoln had lived, the horrors of Reconstruction would never have come about. Few people know—especially negrophiles—that Abraham Lincoln was opposed to giving Negroes the right to vote. He said in a speech at Charleston, Ill., on Sept. 18, 1858: "I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office."

society in order to get Negro votes. Venal and selfish rabble-rousers appealing to race consciousness would again use the Negro as did the political buccaneers who came into the South after the Civil War.

It must be remembered that if permitted to vote Negroes will vote as a block. Their decisions will not be made upon what is for the best interest of the state, but what is for the best interest of the Negro race.* Voting as a group regardless of the rightness of the matter at issue does not make for good citizenship. Aristotle said: "The good of man must be the end of the science of politics." Negroes disregard this dictum. The interest of the smaller group, or the minority, is thus placed above the interest of the state or the public welfare. This is bad political morality, and no group of voters has so offended against this rule as have the Negro voters where there are enough of them to wield considerable power.

One can predict that it is only a question of time before Negroes will be allowed to vote in all states. But if this could come about gradually or be postponed until Negroes are better educated and better prepared for the duties of citizenship, it would obviate further misunderstanding and prevent racial clashes in the South.

Southern people are not so much concerned with the Negro's voting per se—they are concerned with the results of that voting. They do not want laws repealed that prevent or discourage social equality, such as the miscegenation, intermarriage, and segregation laws. However, except in certain districts, Negro voters are in the minority, and there is little fear that they can out vote the whites on matters of racial significance.

The agitation against the poll tax is unnecessary, and a federal law against it would be unconstitutional. This agitation has almost reached a fanatical pitch and reminds one of the abolitionist movement before the Civil War. The poll tax has been repealed by several Southern states and others will follow.† This tax, an old and

* In another paragraph of the pronouncement of the twenty-five Negro organizations mentioned above, there is this far-from-idealistic threat:

"We hereby serve notice that if either major political party shall nominate for President or Vice-President a candidate of vacillating or reactionary character, or with an anti-Negro record, it will be vigorously opposed by Negro voters."

† New Hampshire has a \$2.00 poll tax, also Conn., \$3.00; Mass., \$2.00. The laws do not say the poll tax must be paid in order to vote, but if the tax isn't paid the citizen can be prevented from voting.

honored one and in effect at one time everywhere, disenfranchises whites as well as Negroes. It is assigned undue importance in the Negro's bill of complaints.

LYNCHINGS

So much has been said about lynching of Negroes in the South that some people in the North and in foreign countries believe that Southern people go around equipped with six shooters and lariats.

There was a period when lynching or the hanging of men by Lynch-law was quite frequent in the Southern states.* But this was the time after Reconstruction days when the original Ku Klux Klan had disbanded, and it was still necessary to deal summarily with Negro rapists and criminals. I am not condoning lynching as a mode of satisfying justice. But there are mitigating circumstances which might be cited to take away some of the odium that the rule of lynch-law has brought on the Southern people.

In the first place Americans are a tempestuous and energetic people. The failure of juries to convict and the law's delays have caused many communities to take the law into their own hands. This kind of quick action goes back to Colonial days. New Englanders themselves often invoked lynch-law. It was particularly in vogue throughout the far west in the early days.† There they lynched men for stealing horses. Very little is said today about the vigilantes who cleaned out the mining camps and broke up the gangs of horse thieves not so many years ago. This part of our history is glossed over in the continual harping on the crime of lynching to which the Southerners are said to be so disposed.

The quick justice of the lynch court was brutal and uncivilized, but, in the black belts of the South where in some counties the Negroes outnumbered the whites ten to one, it was necessary for the white people to let the blacks know that heinous crimes, particularly rape, would bring about quick and sure retribution.

In looking back over the history of our country, the Anglo-Saxons of the East and the South as well as of the far West would

* The word "lynch" comes from the famous Judge Charles Lynch of Bedford County, Virginia, who, in punishing Tories and Loyalists at the time of the Revolution, "greatly exceeded his powers." Lynchburg was named after him.

† H. H. Bancroft, writing in 1887, said: "Thus far in the history of these Pacific States far more has been done toward righting wrongs and administering justice outside the pale of law than within it."

not permit criminals of their own race or of other races to carry on their high crimes without instant punishment. In any event, lynch-law is seldom invoked in the South any more than it is in other sections of the United States. Therefore such legislation as the anti-lynch bill, which is perennially before Congress, is unnecessary, and its proponents are only stirring up trouble and creating dissension by continually demanding its enactment into law.

As a matter of fact such legislation is unfair and unconstitutional. There is no more logic in assessing a fine of \$10,000 against a county in the South in which lynching occurs, and punishing the sheriff, than there is in fining one in Illinois \$10,000 because a murder is committed there. Under this system the City of Detroit could have been fined \$3,400,000 because of the recent race riot. You cannot stop the crime of murder by punishing all the people of a community. To attempt it is to employ the same logic as the Germans when they killed a hundred hostages for one German soldier shot by a saboteur or a patriotic enemy. In addition they amerced the city or town a large sum of money.

As shown in the table in Chapter 12, the number of lynchings has declined steadily for years with the exception of the year 1945. Sometimes the murders were not always "lynchings," strictly speaking. They were not the result of mob action. For instance, in 1943, one of the persons reported as lynched was beaten and clubbed to death by a sheriff and his deputies. Another was shot to death by a crowd of farmers as he tried to escape from a farmhouse where he had killed a man in a robbery attempt. The third was taken from the jail by four men and shot to death—possibly the only real lynching of the three tragic deaths.

The protests against lynching are now mere propaganda.

THE EXPLOITATION OF OTHER PEOPLES BY THE IMPERIOUS WHITES

We hear a great deal about how the white race has exploited the inferior races of the world. Undoubtedly when the Christian countries of Europe and America enslaved the Negroes they were exploiting those simple people. But the word "exploitation" is given too broad an implication.

Is it exploitation for a group of Englishmen to open up a diamond mine in South Africa that has lain hidden from the natives?

The opening of the mine gives employment to many thousands of people, brings in a larger revenue to the State, puts money into circulation and is an economic advantage to the country in which the mine is located. It is true that the mine owners earn a large profit. It is true that if the mine were owned locally the community would be better off. But since the mine has been there all along and the community never developed it, isn't it the second best thing for someone else to do it? Can this be considered exploitation?

Now the ownership of oil wells and mines in foreign countries probably represents the extreme form of commercial exploitation, because mines become worked out and oil wells run dry so that the mineral wealth is depleted. But when foreign capital builds a railroad or a factory in a country, isn't it conferring an economic benefit upon that country?

When the Siberian railroad was built many years ago mostly by French capital, were the French exploiting Russia? It is too bad the Chinese have not allowed themselves to be more exploited in the matter of railroads since transportation is their greatest problem.

Wherever Europeans have gone, they have constructed railroads, built dams, established factories, opened mines and created trade activity that has benefited the natives who were not aggressive enough to do any of these things or who did not have the capital or the "know-how."

There is much said about how the English have exploited India. Actually the greatest blessing that has ever happened to the people of India was their coming under English rule. Undoubtedly early "free-booters" stole some of the wealth of India. This applies to the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and the English, all of whom have traded with the East Indies, since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Many of the early viceroys, captain generals and commanders were grafters and despoilers. As did the governors of Roman provinces in ancient times, they personally accumulated large fortunes. But on the whole the trading companies and their representatives were engaged in trade, and, while some might try to obtain without remuneration the products of the country they occupied, this policy would soon dry up the source of wealth, so the companies had to play fair. In trading you have to give if you want to get. And the Spanish soon learned

that in order to bring back the wealth of the Indies they had to take out the wealth of the Indies.

In trading there had to be quid proquo. Those who dealt with the American Indians found this out. Valuable furs were obtained from the Indians for a small amount of arms, ammunition, or rum, but there was considerable risk to the trader of capital, health, and even life, and the way to profits was long and arduous. In all the countries that were "exploited," as we say today, the traders gave little and received much, but the little that they gave seemed much in the eyes of those who received it and they were satisfied. Traders likewise brought to the natives articles of convenience and comfort as well as improved weapons helpful in hunting and war. When the American Indian received some shot and powder for the furs which were plentiful and obtained at little cost to him, and yet were of great value in London and on the continent, he was more than satisfied, and it is doubtful whether it could be said that he was exploited.

The British stand accused of exploiting India. This is a good word for propaganda purposes, but let us see what exploitation has done for this ancient country.

In the first place the English stopped the innumerable wars that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made India a scene of devastation. The English put an end to "suttee" or wife burning, and they have tried to abolish child marriage. They have brought some degree of prosperity to India and have raised the economic standards of its hundreds of millions of people. They have introduced cotton mills, banking systems, and manufacturing of all kinds. The English people themselves have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in India. These investments give employment to people and its factories pay out to Indians most of the money received from sales for labor and for supplies of raw material. A million-dollar enterprise might transact a total business of five million dollars and of this \$4,750,000 would stay in India, leaving \$250,000 to be returned in the form of dividends to the capitalists who risked their money in a foreign land ten thousand miles away.

The English have given the East Indians schools, improved sanitation and modern medical service. They have lessened the famines that used to occur in India and brought to its people some of the conveniences and improvements of modern civilization. And

they have given that country Anglo-Saxon law and order. Just why we should call this exploitation I do not know.

That India as a colony has been profitable to the English people cannot be denied, but the profits are legitimate and in no sense can be said to be exploitation. These profits are what might be called "service" profits. They arise generally from three forms of activity; that is, transportation, insurance and investing. Before the war the trade with India was carried in British bottoms. British shipping companies earned a profit for carrying this freight, giving employment to British seamen. British insurance companies carried the insurance on this freight and earned a profit. British capitalists received dividends on their money invested. These expenses are necessary in all business operations and the people of India would have to pay them to some one, as they are not in position to furnish these services themselves. After all they are only a small part of the cost of goods or merchandise, but their total makes a vast sum for the people of England.

There were only about 50,000 Englishmen in India and only 3,000 in the Indian Civil Service, and the cost of their upkeep to the people of India was infinitesimal. In the United States with about one-third the people during the war we had over three million people in our civil service, although after the war around a million of these were dismissed.

Thus the British have brought to India a more stable, just and efficient government, a certain measure of improved health, and better economic opportunity for millions of its people. If this is exploitation, it is the kind of exploitation in which the exploited country gains.

Again, in Central and South America, American business men have invested money in railroads, in mines and in other forms of activity which has been helpful to the people of these countries. We have been accused of exploiting them. The United Fruit Company particularly has been under attack for its activities in Central America, and yet this company has invested millions of dollars in clearing out jungles, planting banana trees, and constructing railroads and terminals. It has given employment to thousands of people, brought millions of dollars into these countries in the shape of wages, and other millions in taxes. This may have been a form of exploitation, but it is a beneficial one and several Central American countries are better off because of it.

The third point on the Negro political agenda is international in its application: "To end imperial and colonial exploitation." Does this apply to the United States? Are we to give up Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and Hawaii? The Philippines, the "exploitation" of which cost us directly over two billion dollars and possibly brought on the war with Japan, have now been given their independence. Shall we keep Guam? How about other Pacific Islands captured by our troops?

In any event Negro leaders in the United States desire the British to get out of Africa and her other colonies. They presumably want the French barred from keeping their colonies, and they fear that the United States may claim or be offered mandates to rule over parts of Africa.

The white race is to retire modestly and turn over large sections of the earth's surface to disorganized, ignorant and inefficient peoples—often barbarous and even savage—so they can revert to old ways and customs, bring ruin upon themselves, and even endanger civilized nations. How can people who call themselves educated desire such a consummation!

SEGREGATION AND JIM CROW LAWS

For Northern Negroes perhaps, the most irritating discrimination prevailing in the South is the observance of the so-called "Jim-Crow" laws. Public conveyances are arranged so that Negroes are separated from whites. On railroad trains separate coaches are provided, and on busses and street cars a movable sign divides the two racial groups. There are separate accommodations for whites and Negroes in railroad stations and public places. There are separate schools and churches. Theatres have reserved sections for colored people. Segregation laws are enforced in all Southern States. Northern Negroes object strenuously to segregation laws and to the fact that there is segregation. The National Negro Council went so far during the war as to request the President to "abolish as a war necessity all the Jim-Crow practices in travelling accommodations in the Southern states."

Although there are no Jim-Crow laws in the North, Negroes are often denied access to hotels, restaurants, theatres, auditoriums and places of assembly.* The people of many communities are in favor of segregation.

* The Cotton Club in Harlem, though Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway played there, kept Negroes out for a time.

Where Negroes are strong politically in the North they have been able to obtain legislation forbidding segregation. Through the efforts of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People and other Negro organizations, laws have already been passed in several states prohibiting segregation, and subjecting hotels, theatres and other semi-public businesses to penalty if they refuse to serve any person on account of race or color. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania already have laws of this kind, and they are being enforced.

On January 12, 1944, Martin A. Nichols was found guilty of violating the State Civil Rights law when he, as Assistant Manager of the Knickerbocker Hotel in New York City, refused a Negro a room at the Hotel. He was fined \$100.00. On January 28, 1944, a Negro in New Jersey sued the owner of a barber shop because one of his employees refused to cut the Negro's hair. He asked for \$500 damages and counsel fees and based his suit on the ground that he was denied the facilities of the barber shop because of his race and color. There have been several convictions for violations of these laws because admission to restaurants, theatres and skating rinks was denied to Negroes.

The intelligent and educated Negro, perhaps three-quarters white, travelling in the South, objects to riding in a Jim-Crow car* occupied by darker members of his race who are often unclean in their persons, vulgar in their language and crude in their manners.† I sympathize with a man who feels his superiority and yet is compelled to associate with others that are personally disagreeable to him.

I likewise sympathize with the upper class Negro, used to good food and pleasant surroundings, who, when he visits the South,

* Much complaint has been made about the Jim Crow car facilities in the South. In the past the railroads have had fewer Negro passengers and 95% of these did not want or demand first-class or pullman accommodations. If the Negroes were given inferior passenger coaches it was because this is about what they expected. Actually on most of the railroads today Negro coaches are just as good as those occupied by the whites.

† Dr. Reid E. Jackson (The Race, May-June, 1944) writes: "More care, too, should be exercised by the Negro, regarding his personal cleanliness. I can recall more than one instance in which I inwardly rebelled as dirty, grimy, Negroes, sweaty from their recent labors, shoved pugnaciously into a seat beside me, on a public carrier or in an amusement place."

cannot find a good hotel at which to stay, or a taxi cab in which he may ride. Here segregation works something of a hardship. On the other hand, think how the white people of the South would feel if segregation were done away with and unwashed, boisterous and boorish Negroes crowded into the same public meeting places, and sat next to the whites in street cars and trains. The white people would themselves then be in the same unhappy position.

In seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia Negroes attend separate schools. Thus we have segregation in education. This system does not appeal to Negro liberals, but where there are many Negroes it is a practical and common sense arrangement. In fact it is a distinct advantage to the Negro race since it tends to unify and make Negroes more homogeneous.

The principle of segregation in itself is not a bad one. The proverb, "Birds of a feather flock together," while often used invidiously, expresses an age old tendency. It is derived from the general law of gregariousness inherent in human nature. People segregate themselves into many groups voluntarily. Professional men have their organizations—bar associations, medical societies, etc. There are occupational groups, unions, lodges, churches, and so on.

Segregation is practiced in many other ways. In schools we separate the males from the females. We separate children from grown people. Religious groups like to congregate in separate churches. In one small town of 5,000 people sometimes as many as ten different sects will each have a church. All these congregations could use one church building or maybe two at the most without over crowding. Thus there would be a big saving in property investment and upkeep. But at a greater expense and economic loss they prefer to segregate. Catholics segregate in their own schools, but, of course, they do this voluntarily. If they are permitted to do that, why isn't it reasonable for a larger group of Caucasians (including Catholics) to segregate so as to exclude Negroes?

The right to segregate in a sense is the same as the right to assemble. The right to assemble peacefully is guaranteed by the Constitution. The right to segregate is a natural right, and when it is abrogated we are no longer free. America is the land of segregationists. Americans want the right to segregate.

One of the most difficult problems of segregation is that which arises when Negroes buy residences in sections where white people live. Because of social attitudes property values begin to depreciate

when Negroes move into a community. This is well recognized by real estate men, banks and mortgage companies. When the colored people moved into sections occupied by whites in Brooklyn and Harlem property depreciated. As soon as this sort of trend becomes fixed mortgage holders and investors sell their property and "get out from under." High priced residential property particularly depreciates when Negroes buy homes in a select residential district.*

In financing the Stuyvesant Town development constructed on the East Side around 14th Street in New York City, a 50-million dollar postwar housing project covering nearly twenty blocks, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. insisted that its mortgage contract carry a clause which states that no Negro tenants are to be admitted into any of these apartments.

Since the signing of this contract the New York City Council has enacted a law which will in the future deny tax exemption to privately financed housing projects that exclude tenants because of race or color. This law, however, is not retroactive and will not affect Stuyvesant Town.

Most property owners are definitely in favor of residential segregation. In a survey by Fortune 77 to 87% of those interviewed were in favor of segregation. Some did not care, but only ten or twelve percent were opposed to it.

Segregation as a policy is not confined to the United States. All countries have class segregation. It probably is carried to the greatest extreme in India where there is caste as well as class. The people who were trying to "free" India had in mind, no doubt, the abolition of the caste system. This might appeal to the 100 million untouchables, but the other 250 millions won't like it so much.

In South Africa there is in effect a policy of segregation. But the colored Africans are likewise protected. No white man is permitted to settle in certain sections without permission of the Governor General. And in some areas certain occupations are limited to white artisans.

* In Chapter XII, I tell about Lilydale, a suburb of Chicago owned by upper class Negroes, who objected to the building in that section of a Housing project for lower class Negroes on the plea that it would depreciate the value of their property.

Actually segregation is not such a hardship as it would appear to be.* Most people prefer to associate with their own kind. There is a pattern of segregation in all our activities. Certain restaurants are frequented by "cafe society." Others are "quick and dirties" where the humble toiler in his shirt sleeve devours a "poor boy" sandwich. The patrons of either of these types of restaurants would feel out of place in the other. Some doctors have a "fashionable" practice. Others serve the poor and unpretentious. The people who have their dental work done by "advertising" dentists won't be found in the waiting rooms of a "regular" dentist.

In all activities some are sheep and some are goats and there is always the effort to separate them.

In any event, the segregation by races in the Southern part of the United States is desirable and even necessary.†

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES

Negroes are particularly bitter about what they allege is discrimination against the race in our armed forces. First, they are opposed to segregation. Instead of Negro regiments they desire that Negroes be mixed in with the white soldiers. In the Navy they do not want ships manned by Negro sailors and commanded by Negro officers. They want segregation eliminated. They want the recreational facilities at Army and Navy posts to abolish segregation of any kind.

Though segregated into Negro units Negro leaders during the war complained that these units did not get enough combat service. The complaints of Negroes, with accompanying propaganda, became so loud that they made it unhappy for our generals and admirals.

In January 1943 former federal Judge Wm. H. Hastie, a Negro aide to Secretary Stimson, resigned. Judge Hastie quit because he

* "The Negro of pure blood, especially in the far South, is naturally unambitious, tractable and easily satisfied. He does not lie awake at night brooding over the loss of inalienable rights. He does not look upon the 'Jim Crow' car as a humiliation, and the writer's observation is that the freedom of a car of his own color is infinitely preferable to one where the presence of members of the white race would be felt as a restraint. When protests do come, they are in the great majority of cases from mulattoes."

—J. M. Mecklin "Democracy and Race Freedom", McMillan & Co. (N. Y. 1914)

† "What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races."—Abraham Lincoln (Springfield Speech, July 17, 1858).

said the Army Air Force was reactionary and engaged in discriminatory practices against Negroes. Judge Hastie opposed the plan for segregation training at Tuskegee. He said that the Air Force from the beginning did not want Negro personnel. He declared in a statement to the press:

Resistance bred of that attitude has been met ever since. Moreover, even now the Air Command views the use of the Negro as an "experiment" designed to determine whether he can do this or that in the field of aviation.

This attitude is the result of wholly unscientific notions that race somehow controls a man's capacity and aptitudes. The tragedy is that by not wanting the Negro in the first place and by doubting his capacity, the Air Command has committed itself psychologically to courses of action which themselves become obstacles to the success of Negroes in the Air Forces.

Negroes even went into court to contest the policy of the Selective Service Administration in setting separate quotas for the calling of Negro and white men. A Negro soldier, Winfred Wm. Lynn was ordered into the service by a local board of Jamaica, N. Y., On September 18, 1942. He was inducted, and he then sought release from service in the Army, which, he said, "did not have democracy in it." The Judge in the District Court ruled against him, and the United States Appeals Court in a two-to-one decision upheld the separate quota induction policy. Judge Swan in his opinion pointed out that the Army has had a traditional racial segregation policy going back at least to 1866, and he held that the limitation of the number of Negroes called up according to the place available to them in the Army was a practical custom. In an opinion (handed down Feb. 4, 1944) he wrote:

In our opinion the statutory provisions [against racial discrimination] which the appellant invokes mean no more than that Negroes must be accorded privileges substantially equal to those afforded whites in the matter of volunteering, induction, training and service under the [Selective Training and Service] act.

Negro propagandists by agitating and complaining about the way Negroes were handled in the armed services thought that they would in this way reach most effectively the masses of the American people. They hoped not only to get attention, but that a certain note of sympathy would be struck because there seemed to be a patriotic motive behind their agitations.

Egged on and harassed by complaints and persuasions the War Department sent Negro troops down South for training when these men could have very well been kept in the North. Their presence in some of the Southern camps caused trouble and racial unrest.

At the Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity held in New York City on Sept. 25, 1943, Walter White, Ex. Sec. of the N.A.A.C.P., asserted that hatred of the Negro was being disseminated throughout the world by American soldiers from the Southern States.

The fact of segregation in the Army and Navy is most exasperating to many Negro leaders. Just why they want Negro companies and regiments disbanded, and the soldiers placed around in various units with white soldiers is hard to understand. It would seem that Negro troops would prefer to be with their own race. Above all, it affords them an opportunity to show their fighting ability as a race.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Negroes complain about educational facilities in the South. First, that they are inadequate, and, second, that the teachers are not paid the same salaries as are white teachers. In spite of disadvantages in the United States there are 50,000 Negro college students. This is a greater proportion of that race receiving higher education than the people of the leading nations of Europe in 1915. Before the first World War the number of college students in Great Britain, France and Germany was only 120,000 out of a total population of 160,000,000 people.

In the United States there are approximately 350,000 Negro high school students. In Great Britain with four times as many people as there are Negroes in this country, only 175,000 attend high school. It would seem then that the white people in the United States have not treated the Negroes so badly with respect to educational opportunity.

Furthermore, most of the Negroes live in the South. Although the Southern States spend nearly half their tax receipts for education, the South itself has inadequate school facilities, because the people are relatively poor, particularly in the rural districts. Actually they have been liberal to Negroes in educational matters. In some counties in the South Negroes comprise more than half of the population, yet they pay only from 1% to 10% of the taxes collected.

If the Southern States were to offer educational facilities to the two racial groups based upon the amount of taxes paid by each group, the Negroes would get hardly any education at all.*

As for the salaries paid the teachers, they are low for two or three reasons. The principal one is that an effort is made to maintain as many schools as possible with the funds available, and so the pay is smaller. Also Negro teachers generally have not had the same educational advantages and are not as competent as white teachers. They are not worth as much. However, salaries are now being raised and in many states Negro teachers get the same pay as white teachers.

It must be realized that Negroes are not generally an ambitious people. Many do not want to go to school. The South has not only endeavored to give to Negroes all the elementary education it can afford, but nearly all the Southern States have agricultural colleges and other higher institutions of learning. The Negro on the whole enjoys excellent educational opportunity.† The Southern people have realized their responsibility and have done their best in assisting the Negro to get an education.

Finally, equal educational opportunity does not mean equal education because of the great variation in the capabilities of the students who avail themselves of it. In the same school with the same facilities students will assimilate unequal knowledge. A curriculum does not mean the same to different men. A course of study that is stimulating and helpful to one student may affect another in an opposite manner. Thus equal educational opportunity for all is not obtainable, because each individual will not use the opportunity in the same way, and will absorb information and ideas offered in diverse ways and in varying degree. Education depends more upon the "educatee" than the educator.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Negroes are demanding economic equality, that is to say, the same wage for Negroes as for white people for the same kind of work.

* Negroes in the South get a "free ride." They pay no taxes or very little, yet receive police and fire protection, free schools, hospitals and asylums.

† "The Negroes are rising . . . It is one of the paradoxes of the American situation . . . that this rise of the Negroes to a great extent is the result of education and other public efforts, which . . . is largely provided by the Southern states themselves with the approval of the ordinary Southern whites."

—An American Dilemma (p. 645).

This desire is logical. As a matter of fact it is the one demand to which there is the least opposition by the white people even in the South. For the Negro to receive a larger income means that the community in which he lives would be that much better off economically. There is no social feeling against paying the Negro the same wage as paid a white man. But there is a practical reason for the prevailing difference in wages. Generally speaking, the Negro is not as good a worker and does not produce as much. If he is a day laborer he is more liable to "take it easy" on the job, or if he works in a factory his production per man hour per machine is less.

Again, the Negro is more uncertain and unstable as a worker. Absenteeism is greater among Negroes. More stay away on Monday morning. Negro workers leave their jobs quicker and without notice. In fact Negroes are more apt to take "rests" and vacations. Their attitude is very much the same as that of some Latin-Americans. The United States Government in its construction of air fields and other emergency work in the West Indies and in South America has found that by paying a laborer two or three times what he has been getting that the laborer would work just $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1-3 as much. All the average worker wants is a certain amount of money, and then he "knocks off." Negroes often act in the same manner.

Now as for his receiving an equitable income or an income that Government social workers assert is a minimum, Negroes are not much worse off in this respect than many white people. According to sociologists the minimum family income should be \$1,500 per year. Since 50% of our people have incomes less than this, it would appear that most of us are living below the standard.*

That a higher income is desirable and that it would mean better health and greater prosperity to the country if all families were to receive \$1500 a year or more, is not to be denied. However, this is a problem of economics that cannot be solved by fiat, unless we take from the thrifty and the more prosperous groups some of their sur-

* The following table gives the Incomes of Negro and White Families for 1935-36 (non-relief):

	Median		Mean	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Southern Rural Communities	\$1100	\$ 480	\$1535	\$ 566
Southern Cities 2,500 and over	1570	525	2019	635
Northern Central Cities	1720	1095	2616	1227

(Consumer Incomes of U. S.—Nat'l. Resources Com.)

plus and arbitrarily donate it to those who are unfortunate or incompetent or unwilling to do better for themselves. Furthermore, in concluding that so many of our population are underfed, underclothed and under privileged because their cash incomes do not come up to the minimum, are all factors taken into consideration? For instance, in the South the climate is moderate and there is less cold weather. Not as much fuel is required for the winter months. The houses do not cost as much because they do not have to be constructed as carefully so as to keep out severe cold. In the South the clothing requirements are less because people wear fewer and lighter clothes. In certain sections of the country fish are plentiful, and people whose cash income is low are able to catch fish or hunt game or procure their food in other ways than purchasing it. The cash income of farmers is always low. A farmer's living expenses come out of his farm operations. His house is included with the farm and if he pays rent he has no extra rent for the house. He raises his own vegetables, as well as hogs, chickens and even fruits. Thus it is possible to live on a farm without having to buy many items requiring cash. The incomes of Negroes living in the South and in rural communities are greater, when everything is taken into consideration, than the records show.

There is no economic equality except under communism, and that is not workable. If Negroes want economic equality they must achieve it themselves.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Undoubtedly Negroes are discriminated against in the matter of employment all over the United States. This form of discrimination is not peculiar to the South. On the contrary in the South the Negro has a better chance to obtain permanent employment. Employers know his failings and are willing to overlook his deficiencies. In the North where the pay is higher the standard of efficiency is likewise higher, and the Negro is not as satisfactory as a worker. Fair Employment Practice hearings were held in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Washington where discrimination against the Negro was flagrant, according to the New York Times of July 2nd, 1942. Because of the manpower shortage during the war, Negro employment was at its height, and there was less discrimination against colored workers.

But all economic opportunity does not arise from holding a job. The little independent business man, the store keeper, the restaurant

operator, the cleaner and presser can all prosper and accumulate a modest competence. There is ample opportunity for Negroes to run these small businesses catering to their own people. There is opportunity for them to buy stock in the large corporations, to buy bonds, in a word to become capitalists. This is a long and wearisome road to travel and it requires courage, self-denial and determination. But the opportunity exists.

Negroes are discriminated against in industry, but in science, literature, music or art, their work is praised excessively just because it is that of a Negro, and it finds not only a ready market among Negroes but an even greater one among white people. And the financial rewards are in keeping.

Negroes say that opportunities for making money are meagre in the United States. It is an old proverb that a poor workman complains about his tools. The Negro has not shown himself to be aggressive or possessed of abilities that make him a successful citizen. He therefore complains about the "breaks." Actually in the United States he has greater opportunities and possibilities than his race ever had in Africa or for that matter than most white people have had in Europe. But what is he doing with this magnificent opportunity? Almost nothing! Huddled together in cities—in all of Manhattan the average number of persons to the acre is 125 but in ten blocks of Harlem they average 650 to the acre—or living in lowly cabins on their farms in the South the Negroes make little effort to improve their situation. In the cities they gamble on lotteries and number rackets and give gin parties to pay their rent. In the country when winter comes they burn in the fireplace the fence which they built in the springtime rather than cut more firewood.

It is true that the average person, white or black, lacks initiative and will never do more than he is told to do, or that he has to do, in order to keep alive. But among the white people 5% or 10% of them inaugurate movements or enterprises that help all.

There is nothing to prevent Negroes from starting business enterprises or organizing corporations for manufacturing or trading. If there is a local prejudice because of race, interstate commerce overcomes this disadvantage—a consumer a thousand miles away is not concerned with the color of the entrepreneur who manages the factory.

The Negro must create his own economic opportunity. In doing so he will receive help from the whites, particularly when he has proved his ability to succeed.*

THE RIGHT OF THE TEN PER CENT

The most unreasonable demand of the negrophiles today is what might be called the "10% allocation." Since Negroes comprise 10% of the population they should be entitled to 10% of the jobs, 10% of the income of the country, 10% of every quota. This is the most irritating, trouble making and unreasonable demand of the American Negro. If such a policy were carried out it would mean that 10% of our congressmen and senators must be Negroes, that one Justice of the Supreme Court should be a Negro, and that every tenth president should be a Negro. All these high posts must be filled by Negroes regardless of merit. If a factory had 1,000 employees, 100 must be Negroes. If a department store employed 500 people, 50 of them would have to be Negroes. If we graduated 2,000 doctors a year in this country, 200 of them must be Negroes. Every institution, every activity must then be subjected to the racial rule of 10%. This is indeed a vicious theory and carried out to its logical conclusion it would mean that every race and minority group in the United States could come forward with the same demand; namely, that its race or group be allocated jobs and preferments in accordance with the ratio of their number to the total population. The Indians could ask for half of 1%. Since the Chinese and Japs are less numerous they would not get in very often, but still they would be entitled to some racial consideration.

Other minority groups, whose culture or European ancestral stocks make them homogeneous, such as Poles, Czecho-Slovakians and Jews, might demand that they be represented in our business and political and professional life on a population basis. We would next have religious groups asking for the right to be represented in accordance with their ratio to the total population basis. Thus every employer with 100 or more people working for him would be compelled to hire ten Negroes, one Pole, two Czecho-Slovakians, five Jews, one Indian, and, if political groups demanded their rights, then 49 of his people would be democrats and another 49 republicans,

* "It is in business, perhaps, that the Negro gets more honest consideration and a fairer deal than in any other of his contacts with the white men, not even excepting religion."—Robert R. Moton.

with one socialist and one communist to balance things off. If he were forced to adhere to a religious quota as well then he would have three Baptists, three Lutherans, three Methodists, one Presbyterian, one Episcopalian and fifteen Catholics.*

Every employer would have to hire a Philadelphia lawyer to keep his racial, religious, and minority group quotas in the right proportion, since he would be liable to heavy fines and imprisonment for violating the employment quota law.

The right of the ten percent was the theory of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The FEPC was a U. S. Government agency instituted at the instance of A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters. In 1941 Randolph organized 200,000 Negroes, and threatened to march on Washington unless the Negroes were given more and better jobs in the war activity. It has been freely charged that the President of the United States in order to prevent their march issued his famous Executive Order #8802, authorizing the forming of a committee on fair employment. The Committee was organized and proceeded to make rules to compel the employment of Negroes in the war effort, but the Committee, like some other bureaus tended to exceed its authority.

The Honorable John A. Rankin said in a speech before the House that the FEPC was "one of the most dangerous communistic agencies ever created to annoy and harass the white people of this country . . . it has attempted to force the railroads of the country

* That this contingency is not highly imaginary is evidenced by a controversy reported by Time in its issue of Nov. 1, 1943. After Sicily was invaded "The Table," a Catholic paper of Brooklyn, N. Y., editorialized: "In looking over the list of officials being sent to guide, if not to rule, an overwhelmingly Catholic country like Italy, we note the absence of practicing Catholics. . . . It would seem not only practical and fair, but intelligent and profitable, for the United States to send some representatives who understand the religion . . . of those whom they are to direct." Later at the annual convention of the Knights of Columbus it was resolved that Catholic Italian-Americans be put in charge of occupied Italian territory. This aroused the ire of the Italian Protestant Ministers Association of Greater New York—with 75 members—who issued a statement which declared the Catholics demands to be out of order and commented: "Here in America, Church and State have complete separation. Candidates to public office are elected . . . not on the basis of their religious beliefs but on their ability to serve in that office. It is in this spirit that the American Government is sending to Italy men who are capable of handling its affairs regardless of their religious affiliations."

to place Negroes in positions of conductors and engineers. It is attempting to force business establishments to employ Negro clerks, and even managers and place them beside, and even over, the white men and white women they have always employed."

The FEPC organization consisted of 113 people of whom three-fourths were Negroes. Thus the Committee did not live up to its own principle, and did not give the whites a fair employment chance where its own organization was concerned.*

Another congressman in the debates to secure an appropriation to continue the FEPC stated that that organization "has demanded and succeeded in having many positions in many or practically all of the Government agencies here in Washington filled with persons who are not qualified to do the work to which they have been assigned, and the appointments are due wholly to the fact that they happen to be colored or happen to have a particular creed."

As a result of an order of the Commission one firm with government war contracts had to tear down a partition between the white and colored rest-rooms. The Commission endeavored to mix the races in Washington, and "in Federal offices whites and Negroes work in the same room, the same offices, eat together at the same cafeterias, use the same rest-rooms and recreational facilities. White girls may be assigned as secretaries to Negro men and Negro girls may be sent to the offices of white officials."

The FEPC was abolished after the war, but vigorous efforts were made to re-establish it in the spring of 1946. This nefarious law was defeated by a filibuster in the Senate. But the sentiment is growing for a permanent Fair Employment Practice law. FEP bills have been introduced in both the House and the Senate. Undoubtedly unconstitutional, such bills indicate a trend toward dictatorship or totalitarianism.

One of these bills, the Scanlon bill, sets forth that the Congress finds that a discrimination in employment "foments domestic strife and burdens interstate commerce, and that to work without discrimination is a constitutional privilege, which cannot be abridged by the State." Employers are forbidden to discriminate against any person because of his race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry with respect to the hire, tenure, or terms and conditions of his employment. Labor unions likewise are forbidden to refuse

* The salaries of employees of the Committee averaged \$3,015.40 annually, while the average salary of all other government agency workers is \$1,700.00.

membership for the same reasons, and both employers and labor unions must not discriminate against any person who has filed a charge or testified or assisted in any proceedings taken under this act. The bill covers all employers who employ more than five persons, and engage in interstate commerce, or who handle contracts for a United States agency. The bill creates a commission, composed of seven members, each to be paid \$10,000 a year and to serve seven-year terms, to carry out its provisions. The records of the present committee are to be transferred to the new commission. The commission may investigate cases and conduct hearings anywhere in the United States or any territory or island. It can call upon a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals to enforce its orders. The commission may award back pay and compel re-instatement or hire of employees. It will have the power to administer oaths, issue subpoenas, compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of evidence, and it can issue its own rules and regulations. The proposed law prohibits wilful interference with agents of the Commission. Such interference is punishable by a year in jail or \$5,000 fine or both.

Under the terms of this drastic law many businesses would face extinction. Suppose a small cosmetic manufacturer advertised for a trained beauty operator to act as a demonstrator. Two women apply for the position—one white and one colored. There is no difference in ability, except that the colored girl is better educated and has a college degree. But the manufacturer for obvious reasons selects the white operator. The other applicant could then appeal to the Commission and ask for back wages. The Commission, composed of Negroes or Negro sympathizers, would probably rule against the manufacturer, and technically it might be right since the Negro operator is better qualified except in the matter of color. To accept the decision would be ruinous to the small manufacturer, and to take the matter to the district court first, and on appeal to the Appellate Court, sitting perhaps several hundred miles away, would cost so much that it would likewise be disastrous to a small business concern. Large manufacturers would be harassed and worried and even blackmailed. Other bills are not quite so severe.

A permanent FEPC would lead to litigation, create bitterness between races, and cause unemployment.* It is undemocratic in principle and will defeat its own purpose.

* In the summer of 1944, Senator Chavez of New Mexico stated that he was not only in favor of establishing a permanent Fair Employment Practices

No race or group has any right to demand for its members or adherents the "right of the 10%". Government officials and civil employees should be selected according to merit and not according to racial or group quotas. And business concerns should be allowed to hire for efficiency and not for racial, religious or political reasons.

HOUSING

Negroes are charging some of their racial delinquencies to bad housing conditions. It is very true that their living conditions leave much to be desired. In the cities Negroes congregate in slum sections, and occupy "worn out" houses, buildings and apartments. They live in dark, dingy quarters, most often without plumbing and improperly heated. Their housing conditions are undoubtedly unfit.

But isn't this true of millions of other people? Every city has a slum, and in New York City several million people live in crowded tenements, many of which in the past were fire traps. In 1930, 57,233 buildings were reported for violating the "new" tenement law.

Even in the smaller cities of the Empire State—our wealthiest and greatest commonwealth—housing conditions are bad. The New York Board of Housing in 1929 investigated housing conditions in twelve cities. In a typical city the Board found that 17% of the rooms—usually bed rooms—in the "poor" districts had "no outside window, not even a window in an interior wall to admit light and air indirectly from another room." They found also that "despite the fact that the area surveyed was the central, congested district of the city, 12 per cent of the buildings had toilets in the yards. Several of these were in the filthiest possible condition. . . . As the block was closely built on all sides, and even through its center, there were few air currents to carry away the stench that spread to numerous adjoining buildings. . . . In a third case the stench from yard toilets 100 feet in the rear was almost overpowering in the halls when the

Commission, but he intended to add an amendment prohibiting discrimination in employment because of sex, age or physical handicaps. He said: "A man who is physically handicapped is entitled to the same right to work as any other man discriminated against in employment. So is the woman worker and the older man."

This is carrying the theory of FEPC to the *reductio ad absurdum*, and yet it is a logical conclusion. It means that if we are governed by this kind of legislation, the pace at which the world runs will be set by the inefficient—the old, the infirm, women and the physically handicapped.

street doors of the tenement were opened. . . . There is scarcely need for the statement that most of the tenements are unprovided with gas, heat, and hot water." *

The 1940 census survey of housing showed that more than 18% of all housing units in the United States needed major repairs and that more than 45% had no bath. Almost 90% of farm houses were built without a bath. Overcrowded dwellings—with more than 1½ persons to a room—were found in 5.8% of urban housing and 16.1% of farm houses.

Thus we see that the housing problem is a serious one not only for Negroes but for many millions of white people. Since the war housing conditions have been particularly bad. Anything with a roof over it commands an exorbitant rental. A great house-building program will have to be carried out. The lack of good housing is not racial but almost universal. The whole world needs new and better housing.

Most of this building of new homes will be done by private individuals. Unfortunately those of the lower income brackets will not be able to participate, so they will have to take what is left. Just how far the Government should go in furnishing model homes to poor people is a question. No one can object to housing projects that will clear out some of the slums in our cities, particularly if these projects can be made to pay their own way. Even if they are based on Government interest rates of 2% and show a slight loss over a period of years their operation might still be advisable. But if the Government is to furnish every one with a model home at a financial loss to the National Treasury, the housing would then be a form of socialism that is uneconomical and might prove to be dangerous to our economy.

However, no one can object to the desire of Negroes to have better homes. In fact this is an admirable ambition. But instead of demanding better housing, as a people should they not attempt to own their own homes and build them themselves? This is what makes for racial stability and shows the quality of a people. More Negroes own their homes today than ever before, but more should learn how to save and to build their own homes and their own housing projects.

* The name of the city was not given but it was probably not New York City. The slum section described was probably occupied by white people.

JUSTICE

Another complaint the Negroes make is that they are not treated fairly in the courts, particularly in the South. The complaint is based on two charges; first, that Southern justice is too severe and, second, that it is not severe enough. It is alleged that in litigation between whites and Negroes, or where a suit is brought by a Negro against a white man, that the whites get the "breaks." In other words, the court and the jury favor the white litigant or the white defendant over the Negro. There may be some truth in this charge, and yet the Negro has often received justice at the hands of white juries.

The other charge is that the courts and juries in the South have been too lenient; that many Negroes have white friends who get them out of trouble, and thus Negro criminals are not punished as severely as they should be or are not punished at all. This kind of justice has a bad effect on Negroes in that they feel that they can commit crimes and get away with them. Juries in the South are often "easier" on Negro defendants than they are on white people. They treat Negroes more or less as children and forgive them more easily. This is particularly true in crimes of passion against members of their own race, but in crimes such as burglary and highway robbery juries are not so lenient.

The Negro is entitled to justice before the law, and it should not be biased because of color.

JURIES

It is now common legal procedure for a lawyer defending a Negro to attempt to free his client by, first, trying to show that no Negroes were on the Grand Jury that indicted him and, second, that no Negroes were on the Jury panel from which the jury was chosen to try him.

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that these are valid objections, and that failure to include Negroes on the Grand Jury or on the Petit Jury panel is a discrimination and unfair to the defendant. The Supreme Court's ruling seems logical. Yet there is fallacious reasoning in arriving at this conclusion as well as an impractical side.

In the first place, if the pro rata theory holds when applied to Negroes, should not the same theory apply to any racial group or even religious group? A man should be tried by a jury of his peers. Taken literally this means that if a man is a horse thief he

ought to have on his jury other horse thieves or the people with whom he consorts. Further, if a man were a Catholic he could logically object to members of the Masonic Order being on the jury. He might even go so far as to say that there must be a due proportion of Catholics on the Grand Jury that indicts him and on the jury before which he is to be tried.

Such an intricate method of selecting a jury would so complicate matters that it would be impossible to convict criminals. As a matter of fact it is hard enough to convict them as it is, and we know that homicide is so frequent in the United States because the killers get off all too frequently. Most often the failure to convict is due to weak and wishy-washy juries.

Not every citizen makes a competent juror. A juror must be honest. He must have enough force of character to stand up for his opinion, and he should be intelligent enough to see through the wordy arguments of the lawyers one of whom is paid to convict and the other to defend. It takes an intelligent citizen to be a good juror. This is as recognized by all lawyers and judges and in many cities there are what are known as "blue ribbon juries." When a case of great importance is to be tried, the prosecutor endeavors to get the highest type of citizens empanelled on the jury. A recent decision of the United States Supreme Court upheld this procedure as legal. As a matter of public policy, efforts should be made to obtain good jurors.

Negroes do not make good jurymen. In the first place, if on a jury of twelve men three are Negroes, in most instances, particularly in the South, these three Negro jurors will not be inclined to have any opinion of their own. But they will vote with the majority of the white jurors. It would in fact be dangerous to put too many Negroes on a jury which is trying a Negro person because in this event they would vote for his acquittal on racial grounds. It is a well-known fact that Negroes conceal criminals of their race, and that they are anti-social in this respect.

Negroes should not be deprived of their jury rights and there are many honest and good Negro citizens who are capable of serving on juries. Their services should be utilized, but it is certainly a miscarriage of justice to reverse the conviction of a colored person just because no Negro sat on the Grand Jury that indicted him or the Petit Jury that returned the verdict of guilty.

AS LAW OFFICERS

Negroes are demanding that cities employ Negro policemen. They want as a matter of right to be on the police force. The average Negro would not make a good policeman. Not only do Negroes commit more crimes than any other group, but their sense of law and order is not well developed. As I have shown, Negroes often conceal criminals. As law officers they might be sympathetic to Negro law violators.

Yet there is something to be said for the employment of Negro policemen. A colored policeman of the right type might be able to ferret out criminals better than a white officer. Actually the use of Negro policemen in the South has proved a success. A survey made in October, 1947, showed that 41 cities and towns in ten Southern states employ 221 Negro police officers. One chief of police stated that crime in the district where there were Negro policemen had dropped 25%. It would seem that the use of Negro policemen in certain sections might be advantageous.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTI-FREE SPEECH LEGISLATION

In 1935 New Jersey passed a so-called race hatred law. This law—an attempt to deal with anti-Semitic agitation—prohibited the inciting of hatred “against a group or groups . . . by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship.” The New Jersey Supreme Court held this law unconstitutional in 1941.

Legislation prohibiting the dissemination of writings and literature which criticizes or defames any racial or religious group is continually being proposed. Such a bill came before the New York State Legislature in January 1944. It was not passed.

Congressman Walter A. Lynch of New York in 1945 introduced into the House the Lynch Bill, barring from the mails all literature containing defamatory and false statements which tend to expose any racial or religious group to hatred, contempt or ridicule.

In May, 1947, the Chicago City Council passed an ordinance providing up to six months imprisonment or fine up to \$200 for exposing any individual or racial or religious group to hatred or ridicule. Minneapolis passed a similar ordinance the same month.

There was an article in the *Survey Graphic* entitled, “People vs. the Fascist, U. S. (1944)” with a subhead “The defamation of groups has become the rocket bomb of the domestic fascist. Can we control it by legal means without endangering the legitimate free-

dom of expression?” The author, Charles Olson, is trying to find a way to prevent criticism of groups—religious, political or racial. He deprecates and bitterly resents any such criticism. Yet all through his article he defames a group which he calls fascists. If you do not agree with him, you are a fascist and, having been put in this group, he then proceeds to accuse you of every sort of evil.

Negroes themselves work actively for the enactment of these unconstitutional and un-American laws, and ten well-known Negro leaders issued a statement urging the passage of the Lynch bill. Attempts are being made to limit our denunciation of groups of radicals and others who are trying to destroy our American way of life. If some of these group-libel laws are passed, we will not be able to print anything derogatory to communists, or any organized group of “reds” or liberals. Nor could we criticize labor unions, fraternities, and trade associations. We might even get into trouble if we criticize too severely Democrats and Republicans.

In order to destroy any idea antagonistic to their own, some equalitarians are willing to do away with the freedom of the press and liberty of speech. They would sacrifice the Bill of Rights.

These anti-defamation laws if enacted would certainly be unconstitutional, but the bills are vicious in intent, and the principle back of them is violative of the freedom of the press and all other freedoms that we hold so dear. The attempt of certain creeds and certain groups to prevent the publication of pamphlets, magazines, books expressing disapproval of a race or a religion will react violently on those who advocate such legislation.

Whereas some of the articles that are published might be untruthful and irritating and disparaging, this is not a reason for muffling the writers. In the first place, such writings are not libelous since libel pertains to the individual. To pass such a measure as is proposed would debar us from denouncing the Germans or the Russians or any other group that might become our enemies. Under the proposed law one could be put in jail for printing and circulating Shakespeare’s “Shylock,” and even the Bible might offend, since there are derogatory remarks about the Jews in it.

However, the Lynch bill has already aroused protests and the American Council of Christian Churches in a statement declares:

While deploring religious or racial hatred and bigotry, [that it] regards H. R. 2328 (the Lynch measure) as being partic-

ularly in violation of the Constitution of the United States. The essence of the doctrine of the freedom of speech is that such freedom shall be unqualified. That unqualified freedom of speech or expression is something or even often abused is no reason for abridging it. . . . Historically the intolerance of most religions toward the doctrine of other religions is a condition of their own continued vitality and existence . . . the advocates of almost any religion will consider that opposition to its tenets or denial of its exclusive truth is defamatory and false, although at the same time they view other religions as false and dangerous to the welfare of men . . . we believe profoundly that the contemplated means is much more likely to produce persecution and discrimination than to prevent it. . . . Any minority ought to be able to see that whatever the inconveniences of free speech may be, they are infinitely preferable to the abridgment thereof.

The statement concluded with the observation that such legislation is the beginning of State controlled religion. The Lynch bill "will set the clock of human liberty back for generations and give rise to evils and troubles incomparable to those it is designed to end."

Legislation against the expression of general opinions is reminiscent of medieval times. We have a recrudescence of this feeling against thinkers and writers in every age. It remained for Hitler to astonish the world when he burned the books in public libraries throughout Germany that contained writings opposed to the Nazi philosophy. Are we to emulate him?

On Sept. 26, 1943, delegates from labor organizations, educational and civic groups at a Social Democratic Federation of America urged the passage by Congress of a Fair Racial Practice Act to improve race relations in the Nation. In Birmingham a Southern youth congress asked the then Attorney General Francis M. Biddle, to ban "hate sheets" and to prohibit them the use of the mails.

In 1944 appeared before the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission Edgar L. Brown, President of the National Negro Congress, and advised the passing of a law to prohibit the broadcasting of terms of opprobrium as applied to any race, creed or color.

On June 12, 1944, at its fifty-seventh annual convention of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, a resolution was passed asking the Democratic and Republican parties to incorporate in their platforms a provision in favor of legislation making anti-semitism and other racial bias a criminal offense.

On Feb. 28, 1947, Gov. Ralph Gates of Indiana signed a bill making it unlawful to conspire, organize or associate for the purpose of spreading hatred against person or persons not alien enemies of the U. S., because of race, color or religion. Maximum penalty: two years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine.

On May 11, 1947, Justice Meir Steinbrink addressing the B'nai B'rith convention in Washington, D. C. advocated five legislative suggestions to "protect minority rights": an FEPC; against "quota systems" in colleges; no restrictive covenants in real estate deeds; civil rights laws; and disclosure of the source of defamatory literature against races or groups.

When an effort was made in New York to procure a civil rights law by constitutional amendment, Robert Moses, Commissioner of Parks, New York City, wrote to the Chairman of the committee having under consideration the amendment (prohibiting discrimination against any person by any other person, firm, corporation or organization because of race, color, or religion) a letter, two paragraphs of which are reprinted from the New York Times. Mr. Moses' letter is a sane and effective argument against this type of legislation.

You cannot legislate tolerance by constitutional amendment or statute. There are no constitutional sanctions to enforce the Ten Commandments or the philosophy of the Sermon on the Mount. It is difficult enough to attempt to carry out guarantees of equal protection by the government. It is impossible as applied to private persons, firms, corporations and institutions. . . . Such an act . . . may make it more difficult for hotels or clubs to discriminate against Jews, for the Ku Kluxers to rule out Roman Catholics, and for private firms, property owners, theatre managers, labor unions, and other individuals, firms, and corporations to discriminate against Negroes, but this difficulty will simply stimulate cute minds to find new and ingenious ways of doing just what they have been doing and you will fan the very flame you seek to quench. Moreover, you will encourage scamps and professional agitators to blackmail not only bigots but those who cannot afford to comply with impossible laws.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York have laws which prohibit hotels, theatres, restaurants and bars from discriminating against customers because of race. The New York Legislature in 1945 passed the Ives-Quinn Bill which compels employers to hire help

without regard to race or religious affiliation.* New Jersey and Massachusetts have since passed similar laws. Up until March, 1947, the New York law had been in effect two years. The Commission enforcing it handled 610 cases. This cost the taxpayers of the state over \$500,000. Some of these cases were thrown out. In 20 months, New Jersey had handled 269 cases and Massachusetts about 150.† In all three states Negroes headed the list of complainants, Jews came second, and Catholics third. The budget for enforcement for 1947 for the three states was \$500,000.

The Ives-Quinn Bill reads: "It will be considered unfair to mention race, color, creed or national origin in advertising; to make similar inquiry if an employing agency, or to aid, abet, encourage or incite the commission of unfair employment tactics."

The prohibition concerning advertising was in effect when the FEPC operated nationally. No contractor or sub-contractor on U. S. Government work could insert an advertisement in a newspaper asking for colored help or white help. Several large employers got into trouble because of this regulation.‡

Such legislation, it would seem, restricts our constitutional freedom. A law compelling employers of labor to hire anyone who presents himself is illogical and unfair. In the first place, it makes

* Alvin S. Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research, was vice-chairman of the committee which advised the enactment of the law. Mr. Johnson was the gentleman who helped to bring Hanns Eisler, an admitted former communist, into the country and who persuaded Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to help get him in.

† In Massachusetts the law covers old persons as well as minorities in the groups protected from job discrimination. This shows to what extremes an idea can be carried. As sympathetic as one may be for old people, it certainly is uneconomic to compel employers to put old and less efficient persons on their payrolls. Theoretically they should be taken care of by social security.

‡ In May, 1944, the Dallas News ran this ½ inch ad in its help wanted column:
Wanted: Colored man to work at night as paper handler.
Essential industry. See Martin Josch, pressman, after 7 P. M.

Leonard M. Brin, regional director of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, immediately wrote the News that it considered the ad a violation of the FEPC's order, saying: "You are therefore requested to take immediate steps to remove from this and from any other advertisement for employees any features which are discriminatory as to race, creed, color or national origin."

for inefficiency. Instead of the employer being able to select the most likely looking person for the job, he must take whomever applies so long as the applicant can prove that he can probably fill the job. Such a law deprives the employer of his right of selection. It would prevent a religious group from employing a co-religionist when somebody else wants the job. A Presbyterian deacon might wish to hire a Presbyterian office boy; yet be forced to employ someone who belongs to another religious group. He might even be an atheist. It is a well known fact that employers select their employees for religious, social and racial reasons. A Catholic might want to have a Catholic working for him. A Mason might prefer to hire other Masons. A Jew might like to have Jewish employees. A Frenchman conducting a restaurant might prefer to have French waiters rather than German waiters, and yet under the New York law, none of these people could surround himself with the kind of employees he preferred.

First-come-first-serve may be all right for the civil service, but it does not make for efficiency, and it is upon the efficiency of the small business and the little enterprises that the economic future of our country depends. In Russia everybody must be given a job. In this country, while we agree that everybody ought to have a job, the only way for this to come about and still permit us to be free—with freedom of enterprise as well as freedom of speech and the American way of doing things—is to make every worker be worthy of his job. Whenever "dead heads" and inefficient workers are loaded on to the payroll, then financial failure is certain.

The right to hire or fire is necessary in order to preserve free enterprise. This right has been abused and has been the cause of a great deal of injustice to the individual worker. The abuse has to some extent been circumvented recently by unemployment insurance and social security. But the principle of hire and fire is fundamentally sound. Employers desire the utmost efficiency. Aside from this employers want the privilege of employing people who will fit in with their other employees and work harmoniously with them.

THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

Negroes in the United States are not satisfied with the treatment accorded them by the motion picture industry. Their propagandists say that moving pictures do not present the Negro in the way he should be presented. In the "Crisis" there was published a

bitter article by Dalton Trumbo, Hollywood screen writer, in which he deprecates the Hollywood attitude. He points out that two of the greatest pictures ever filmed—"The Birth of A Nation" and "Gone with the Wind"—are what he calls "anti-Negro." He says in the last twenty-five years the movies, "have produced turgid floods of sickening and libelous treacle. We have made tarts of the Negro's daughters, crapshooters of his sons, obsequious Uncle Toms out of his fathers, superstitious and grotesque crones of his mothers, strutting peacocks of his successful men, psalm-singing mountebanks of his priests and Barnum and Bailey sideshows of his religion."

Trumbo complains that not only have the movies failed to show the Negro as he is, but that Hollywood is not calling upon the Negro writers for studio work. They are not using Negro actors and actresses, although he does not say much about that aspect of Hollywood's racial antagonism. Trumbo and Negro propagandists who complain about the Hollywood treatment of the Negro fail to take into consideration the philosophy back of the moving picture business.

Let us examine the first charge; namely, that the movies do not present the Negro seriously and he is always shown in a comic aspect or as a servant. Actually this is the public's idea of the Negro and moving pictures as well as plays do not attempt to create the idea of what a type ought to be. They use the type that has already been fixed in the popular mind. In a word they give the public what it wants. The public wants what it is familiar with. To change the popular idea of a Negro and to present him in the same dramatic role as a white person is to run him up against a psychological wall. Such an interference with popular psychology would be courting failure. It is the business of the moving picture to hold a mirror up to the average man's ideology and not to try to remake it.

Furthermore, the art of the theatre is to create an illusion. In moving pictures, particularly, the illusion must be pleasing and the ending must be happy. The public wants its heroes strong and handsome and its heroines gay and dainty and pretty. Therefore, actors and actresses—the stars of the screen—are generally young and attractive. If there is ugliness and old age it exists for contrast and to give light and shade to the drama. The hero and heroine of the play must always create the illusion of youth and beauty.

From the Negro's point of view the white man's age-old idea of beauty may be warped. To the Negro the profile of a dark-skinned

actor with a flat nose, projecting jaw and thick lips may be an object of beauty, but to most people it is not. The average person's sense of the fitness of things would be outraged if the protagonist in the drama were a Negro. Unless she were an octoroon, a Negro woman could never appear on the screen as a winsome and charming young girl. Most Negroes have not the physical beauty suitable for portraying the characters as they exist in the mind's eye of the average playgoer. As is well known, when a producer selects his actors for a play he chooses those that fit the type. This is even more true of moving picture producers. Certainly, Negroes cannot be type actors except for Negro parts. On the stage a Negro may be able to play Othello because to a certain extent he fits the part, since the Moor is dark-skinned. But for a Negro to play Hamlet would spoil the illusion for most people.*

Now as to the second complaint that Negro writers are not being used by the producers, it would seem that this complaint answers itself. A Negro writer of ability who can produce screen stories that will make money for the moving picture industry will have no trouble selling his services to that industry.

However, the propaganda is beginning to have its effect and Hollywood is "falling in line." In many pictures Negroes are "run in" where ordinarily they would be excluded. When they take the part of servants, they do not use dialect but polished English. One Negro maid in a recent movie was so correct that she did not pronounce the slang expression "honey chile" as in ordinary usage, but called it "honey child"!†

NEGROES ON THE AIR

Negroes complain about their neglect and mistreatment by the radio. One writer points out that commercial programs on major networks never accord the Negro the courtesy title of *Mr.*, *Mrs.* or *Miss*, and that they are always represented in radio plays as servants

* Leon Washington, Chairman of the National Negro Publishers Motion Picture Committee, recently denounced Jimmy Fidler for writing that when Manton Moreland, "sepia" actor, was asked what make-up he used, answered, "Hershey's bar, No. 2".

† The non-dialect idea is being put into effect in the theatre. Lillian Hellman, in one of her plays timed around 1880, makes her Negro servants speak correct English—an anachronism that is inartistic.

or ignorant or comical people. This is not strictly true. While Rochester and Hattie McDaniels have been huge successes in servant parts and made a lot of money at it, other Negroes have been given their share of time on the air. Marian Anderson has delighted listeners many times and so has Paul Robeson and other singers and artists. Negroes are given the opportunity on the radio that their talent affords.

NEGROES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Complaint is now being made by dissatisfied Negro propagandists that historians in narrating the history of our country have not given the Negro race the amount of space it deserves. This criticism is without merit. The Negro race did absolutely nothing of itself to colonize the country originally, to help the colonies achieve their freedom, to assist in the organization and creation of our government, or later by their enterprise to help America become great spiritually or materially.

It is suggested that our school books be revised to eliminate biased references to Negroes and other minority groups, and that textbooks include more about their accomplishments. On Jan. 22, 1944, Justice Hubert T. Delaney of the Domestic Relations Court of New York City, said in an address before 400 educators:

I want a history of America showing what the various races of America have contributed. Our books do not give a true picture of the contributions made to American life by our minority groups, especially the Negro.*

In Massachusetts school books have been "purged." The school committee of Medford, a Boston suburb, in June, 1944, banned "The Crisis," by Winston Churchill (American novelist) from high school English classes where it has been used for twenty years.

* A movement has been started to revise the textbooks on Latin America. The American Council on Education examined one thousand textbooks, three hundred motion pictures, songs and museum catalogs, and came to the conclusion that they all give a distorted view of our Latin American neighbors. The Council alleges that the cruelty of the Spaniards, their bigotry and their greed are myths. They term this "The Black Legend". They say that our assumptions that the cultural status and the political capacities of the Negro and Indian races are unwarranted. Their report claims that we are prejudiced against Latin Americans and our books show it. The New York Times in an editorial intimated that our textbooks on Latin America are biased, and that we ought to be more careful.

Negro residents objected to this Civil War story—an American classic.

Let us see how little a part the Negro has played in American history. Brought over as slaves against their will, their number was comparatively small in Colonial days, and they could hardly have been called "colonists." The slave labor was used on the plantations of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. But the majority of the colonists were opposed to the importation of slaves and passed laws against it. The Negro immigrants were unwanted except by a small group of plantation owners in certain sections of the South.

Negroes may have helped as hewers of wood and drawers of water but the successful colonization of the thirteen original American colonies was dependent in no way upon the Negro race.

We next hear from Negro publicists how Negroes helped to win the Revolutionary War. They cite with great pride that a Negro, Crispus Attucks, was killed in the Boston massacre. If the truth were known this is an occasion that as Americans we should not be particularly proud of. It is pretty well recognized that the so-called Boston massacre was caused by a mob who attacked a British company of soldiers without provocation. This rabble mob of riotous persons was not composed of Boston's best citizens. It was in this kind of a crowd that we might expect to find Crispus Attucks.*

We are told that large numbers of Negroes fought for the American cause in the Revolutionary War. It is true that some Negroes did enlist in the Continental Army and two regiments of them were in a few actions.† This came about because of the fact that there were thousands of free Negroes, as well as many run-away slaves, concentrated in the cities. The British offered freedom to the slaves who would enlist, and the Americans countered with the same proposition. As a result 5,000 Negroes went into the American Army and 30,000 into the British Army, according to an estimate of Thomas Jefferson. If it can be said that Negroes helped win the Revolutionary War for us, it can likewise be said

* I am not trying to impugn the integrity or the worthiness of Crispus Attucks. He might have been the salt of the earth and simply a victim of circumstances. Perhaps he was one of the innocent bystanders that always get hurt when the shooting starts. I do not know. But the presumption is that he was a member of the mob.

† Were they afterwards pensioned? And are any of their descendants recognized as such today?

that they helped to lose it for the British since there were six times more of them in the British Army than in ours. In the Civil War over 100,000 Negroes enlisted in the Union armies and some of these troops took part in engagements with credit to themselves, but the war would have been won just the same without them.

If we scan the whole history of the United States up to the time of the first World War no single Negro, with two or three exceptions, ever rose above mediocrity, or contributed anything to American culture, or to the general progress of industry, or to the arts and sciences. In the generation after the Civil War, two Negroes stand out for their achievements—Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver.

But no Negro was among the founding fathers and none contributed to the establishment of our democratic system. It must be remembered too that in pre-revolutionary times there were free persons of color some of whom had education and even wealth.

The Negro's part in the development of our great country on the intellectual and creative side has been nil. It is true that he has contributed physical labor which wrung from the soil some of its wealth. But because slavery was an uneconomic institution, and Negro workers were inefficient, the soil of the South would probably have produced more wealth had it been plowed and cultivated by white men instead of colored.

THE AMENITIES OF LANGUAGE

The demands of the Negroes as a group are becoming more and more exacting. The first indication of the power of group action was the success of the N.A.A.C.P. in changing the custom of the spelling of the word "Negro" and using a capital "N" instead of a small "n." Up until twenty-five years ago the word "Negro" was spelled almost universally with a small "n," but by continuous propaganda and by writing to newspapers whenever the word was spelled with a small "n," the custom has been changed and in most publishing and printing offices *Negro* is capitalized.*

Negroes object violently to the use of the word, *negress*, and they are now trying to persuade newspapers to omit the word *Negro*

* Justice Roberts, in his dissenting opinion in the famous Texas case involving the right of a Negro to vote in a democratic primary, refused to bow to modern custom, and spelt the word Negro with a small "n."

after a man's name when a member of that race is mentioned in the press. The N.A.A.C.P. is working on this objective, and in 1944 the Chicago Herald-American agreed to delete the word "Negro" from all news articles, unless necessary for clarity.

Negroes have become quite sensitive and writers and publishers must be very careful in their expressions so as not to offend a large section of their reading public. It is true Negroes are not the best market for books or for newspapers or magazines, but any organized group can start trouble and make themselves disagreeable, so it is necessary for writers and editors to watch their step, or they will have a nasty fight on their hands.

The expression "nigger in the woodpile" used to be common. Now it can no longer be employed in a magazine of large circulation without giving offense. For instance, an article in the Saturday Evening Post, of the issue of August 14, 1943, used the phrase "colored man in the wood pile." The word "nigger" has a harsh sound and there is no sense in using it when it hurts people's feelings, but the phrase, "nigger in the wood pile," is so expressive and so vigorous in its language structure that it seems a shame to employ a euphemism. Negroes do not like the word, "darkey," and in 1942 Irving Berlin wrote a song with this word, and protests were so strong that he was forced to change "darkey" to "Negro".*

The words of old songs are being changed. In the spring of 1947 Bing Crosby sang over the radio and changed the word "darkies" to "voices" in the words of an old song, "Hear the darkies singing soft and low." The song "Ole Man River" is not sung today as it was originally written. In June, 1947, Walter Winchell used the word "pickaninny" over the radio. This so offended people in New York that he "regretted his *faux pas*."

Efforts are even being made to change the dictionaries. One dictionary publisher, John C. Winston Co., leaves out several name-calling words, such as "nigger", "dago", "chink", "greaser", and so on.

In fact so sensitive have some Negroes become that they carry the refinement of language to the point of absurdity. Says Kenneth Dexter Miller in "We Are America" (The Friendship Press, Inc.,

* Forty years ago Negroes were called "coons," and it was the age of "coon songs." Apparently this nomenclature died a natural death, and no organized effort was made to force its disuse.

1943): "Certain of these questions—racial problems—have become so acute and so many of our citizens are so sensitive of a rule or fancied prejudice and discrimination against them, that it is not even wise to use such terms as 'racial minority' or 'minority groups' without a full definition of terms."

George Sokolsky writing in "The Race" remarks:

The Negro is not our largest minority. He is not a minority at all. That word minority is un-American. It is a snobbish word. It is a decisive word. It is a European, small-nation word. It has come into our language in this sense during the past decade and has done more harm than one could imagine a word can do. It has raised the Negro question to unimaginable ugliness unequalled in its disturbing intensity since the Civil War. It has built an anti-Semitic structure in this land, where for nearly three centuries Christians and Jews have lived together, their differences minimized almost to indifference. It has made Americans "minority" conscious.

Even if we refer to the "Negro race" it implies to some Negroes that the Negro is biologically differentiated from the white man. Surely things have come to a pretty pass when we cannot refer to the Negro race, or class Negroes as a group without hurting their feelings!

Ruth Reed in her book on illegitimacy in New York City says that Negroes are very sensitive. She writes: "Even statements made in public meetings with regard to differences in birth and death rates between white and Negro elements of the population arouse resentment because of the alleged effort to prove the difference or the inferiority of the Negro."

The modern Negro intellectual doesn't like the word *problem*. He doesn't consider himself one. But Negroes work together as a group, and are creating a "problem" by their own actions. It must, of course, be referred to as such.

Negroes are asking that they be addressed as *Mr.*, *Mrs.* or *Miss*. They do not like to be called by their first names. It is difficult to overcome the average Southerner's reluctance to place a "handle" before a Negro's name. However, in business dealings or letter writing, there can be no harm in using a courtesy prefix.

SOCIAL EQUALITY

In his demands for economic and political rights the Negro today is also seeking social equality. The great mass of Negroes perhaps do not have this in mind, but the "talented tenth" assisted

by white liberals want the right to associate with whites on an equal basis. Roi Ottley in "New World A-Coming" writes: "Today the vast majority of Negroes are omitting no activity, or opportunity, to make war the vehicle for rolling equality into American Life."

The Negro press makes no bones about it. Says Dan Gardner in *Plain Talk*:

Rankin, Bilbo and Cotton Ed Smith are dead right in their fears that the Negro wants, in fact, demands social equality.

By social equality, the Negro does not mean what some people think he does: He doesn't want equal, but separate conditions. He doesn't want another parlor car hitched onto the train into which he is segregated. He doesn't want a side of the theatre roped off for his exclusive use. He doesn't want to be considered apart from other people. He wants THE SAME CONSIDERATION THAT ALL AMERICANS SHOULD GET in stores, on trains, busses, hotels, restaurants, schools, and in residential districts. He wants the same right to worship in so-called white churches as do white parishioners. That is the social equality the Negro wants and will get.

Dan Gardner did not emphasize the point here, but he and others of his ilk, want white people to receive them in their homes and to extend to them all social courtesies. This kind of social equality will lead as Negroes well know, to the breaking down of race barriers, to intermarriage and to the final amalgamation of the races.

But the desire for social equality will not be realized for a long time. Brooks Atkinson, well-known New York Times writer, in 1942 made a tour of the South. He talked with many Negroes, some of whom were prominent. He wrote from Birmingham:

None of them believes that the Negroes of this region are asking for or expecting social equality within the lifetime of any one who is now alive. All of them regard Walter White and the broad, generalized policies of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as lacking in realistic understanding of the racial situation here and as possibly injurious to the Negro cause.

Not all Negroes are actively engaged in agitation to promote racial equality. Some, in fact, are opposed to the idea. Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver, real leaders of the Negro race, believed that the way to help Negroes was to show them how to improve themselves. These two men labored throughout their lives to accomplish something for the Negro race and believed, rightly,

that the way to win the respect of the white people is for Negroes to prove their worth by their actions and their way of living.

Harry Burlcigh, famous singer of St. George's Episcopal Church, New York City, believes that Negroes should advance themselves by working hard, and saving their money rather than by asking for laws to help them socially, or by seeking social equality. Equality comes from achievement, it cannot be forced by law.*

INTERMARRIAGE

Although few equalitarians dare press this point, it is undoubtedly a fact that many Negroes would like to see marriage between the races a common practice. In fact some rich Negroes, or those who have achieved artistic or literary success, marry white wives when they can. Jack Johnson, the Negro pugilist married a white wife as soon as he had attained fame and fortune.

But while racial intermarriage is seldom realizable because of laws prohibiting such marriages in thirty states, and although the general social sentiment is against it, undoubtedly many Negroes are in favor of inter-racial marriages. This is proved by the fact that they marry "white" if they can, and marry "light" when they can. Negro men generally marry a lighter-skinned colored woman. This is particularly true of the better class Negroes. It is the natural longing for a woman with a fair complexion. John Dollard in "Caste and Class in A Southern Town" shrewdly observed:

If the unconscious, repressed, and seldom realized wishes of Negroes are taken into account, it may be that the white caste is correct in this assumption [that there is a widespread overt prevalence to commit rape on white women] . . . There is, at any rate, enough sexual aggression on the part of Negro males to constantly evoke defensive measures, and reinforce the belief of the whites.

* Dr. Burges Johnson, well known author and editor, head of the English Department at Union College, and Chairman of the Committee on Racial and Class Discrimination of the Schenectady (N. Y.) War Council, issued a statement on social equality (Dec. 27, 1943) which read in part:

"Political equality and equality of economic opportunity are the rights of every citizen, whatever his race, color or creed, and they are worth fighting for. But social equality is not a right; it is no more than an accidental human relationship. It is not even a privilege, in many instances.

An ignorant and untidy Anglo-Saxon on the Pacific Coast may not regard an educated and cultured Chinese gentleman as his social equal, nor would the Chinese gentleman want him to."

It would seem that all the demands of Negroes for equality are finally summed up in the desire for intermarriage. However, I do not believe that the majority of Negroes are consciously seeking equality and intermarriage. But any considerable lowering of the barriers would arouse this hope among millions of colored people.

ELIMINATION OF PREJUDICE

Above all, equalitarians wish to do away with all prejudice and intolerance. This is all-inclusive. If prejudice were abolished, all their hopes would be realized.

It is suggested that laws be passed prohibiting intolerance and prejudice. Such laws, taking away our right to dislike anyone or to express an opinion about him, leaves us no longer free. We may not have the right to denounce a person in a libelous manner, but surely we can dislike him silently and refuse to have anything to do with him. An individual ought to have a right to hold a prejudice. Prejudices are natural. They always exist. And whether legal or not, every human being will retain for himself the privilege of saying:

*"I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell,
But this I know, and know full well,
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell."*

Every person likewise wants the right to dislike, or avoid any particular group, be it social, political, religious or racial. He wants the right to object to and protest against any creed or belief—religious, economic or political. This is the basis of all freedom.

CONCLUSION

I have discussed in this chapter some of the aims, desires, and hopes of the Negro race as well as its complaints, charges and grievances. Some of the latter are real and some are fancied. Most are formulated by the "talented tenth" and the campaign for making them better known to the American people is carried on by that group.

Where the grievances are real they should be removed. Where there are injustices they should be corrected. But the broad general purpose of bringing about social equality of the races and resulting intermarriage should be opposed by white Americans—not because of an unreasonable prejudice but because the amalgamation of the races will be harmful to the white race. And even the Negro race might be benefited if it maintained its own racial integrity.

CHAPTER XIV.

RACIAL AMALGAMATION HARMFUL TO SUPERIOR RACES

MRS. ROOSEVELT was asked at a Howard University Students' Forum her opinion of racial intermarriage. She answered:

I think it is a very personal problem. For white and colored it is a particular problem. If I had to talk it over with young people, I would try to make them see the full meaning and understanding of the problems one has to face. I would never say yes or no to intermarriage.

In an article in "The New Threshold," a magazine issued by the United States Student Assembly, Mrs. Roosevelt in discussing the Negro problem wrote in the July 1943 issue:

A great many people believe there should be no intermingling of races. Hitler has proved with bloody massacres that he holds this belief. Nevertheless, down through the ages, it has been proved over and over again that this is one of the questions people settle for themselves and no amount of legislation will keep them from doing so. We would not have so many different shades of color in this country today if this were not so. This is a question, therefore, that I think we have to leave to individuals, not only all over the United States, but all over the world, to handle.

In reading these quotations from the sayings and writings of the former President's wife, one infers that she is not opposed to racial amalgamation. If she does not oppose the intermarriage of blacks and whites, she must be in favor of it. The opinion of one of the most influential women in the world seems to favor the letting down of racial bars. The influence of the former First Lady is great, and she is helping to spread what to a race purist is indeed heresy.

Mrs. Roosevelt mentions "bloody Hitler." In so doing she intimates that all who believe in racial superiority are bloodthirsty. Hitler's attack on the Jews, who are not members of another race but are Caucasians, has nothing to do with the study of genetics, or the truth or falsity of biological theories concerning the superiority of one race over another. To call the race purist a Hitlerite or a fascist is absurd, and in implying that he is, Mrs. Roosevelt follows the custom of other equalitarians, who, when argument fails, call their opponents names.

If the legal restrictions against racial intermarriage in the United States are removed, and such ideas that Mrs. Roosevelt and others advocate—passively or by indirection—are allowed to prevail, there might come about a gradual absorption of all Negroes into the white race. Negro-white marriages would begin with the lower classes. A well-to-do Negro would marry a poor or ignorant white woman. In time we would have a colored aristocracy, which, as in Cuba and Brazil, would begin to merge with the better class whites. In the course of ages this process would bring about the absorption of the Negro race into the Caucasian group in the United States. And as a corollary there could be no objection to marrying and merging with the Chinese. The way would then be open to invite orientals to come on over and settle on our waste lands and merge in with our people.

In this chapter I undertake to show that such an eventuality is not only undesirable, but that it would be harmful to the best interest of our country, our society and our civilization.

Equalitarians deny that they are seeking the amalgamation of the races. Yet many of them are not shocked at the idea, and they admit that if race prejudice is diminished and social barriers broken down, there will be more inter-racial marrying. Many of those who belong to the "cult" would not themselves marry persons of a darker hue or be willing for members of their families to do so. Some honestly believe that intermarriage between variant races would not necessarily follow if racial prejudice were done away with. But there are those who believe that the amalgamation of the races is desirable.

Whatever their motives the theory of racial equality is endangering the existence of the white race. The color line must be tightly drawn, else there will be a gradual mingling of the races which in the course of centuries would result in the disappearance of all Caucasians.

There has already been a great deal of racial intermixing in the United States, particularly between whites and Negroes. This fact is often cited as a proof that racial prejudice does not exist. The writers who argue this wise are not practical psychologists and biologists. They overlook the fact that such interbreeding is "left-handed." It is the result of the male sexual urge which is most often indiscriminate and casual. For the same reason men patronize the oldest profession in the world. While they despise the scarlet

woman, they use her, and then throw her into the sewer of life to float away to perdition. In like manner men use the women of inferior races. It is not a matter of love, since they do not often marry their dusky mistresses. If children are born the fathers are as unconcerned as Rousseau, who is said to have left several of his progeny on the doorsteps of foundling homes.* The moralist must view such conduct with grave concern, but that it is common cannot be denied.

The interbreeding of whites and dark-skinned peoples is accomplished by white men "on the loose" with women of the darker race, who are more than willing and even pleased to bear children by palefaced males. Seldom do white women marry or give themselves to dark-skinned men. Women are the protectors of racial purity, and if the women of inferior races were as particular as their white sisters, there would be less race mixing. 99% of the mulattoes are the result of the union of white men and colored women, and this fact is a striking admission of the lack of racial pride on the part of colored women.

As slaves they could not help themselves, but in the United States the majority of "free persons of color" were mulattoes, and the women of this class, though not under compulsion, were responsible for most of the racial interbreeding.

Edwin R. Embree in the "Handbook of the American Negro" writes this bitter paragraph: "It is fair to remember that almost the total of race mixture in America has come, not at Negro initiation, but by acts of those very white men who talk loudest of race purity. Negroes aren't eager to marry white girls, and they would like to have their own girls left alone by both white toughs and white aristocrats." The first untruth we find in this statement is that the white men who preached racial purity caused Negro women to lose their virtue, when, as it will be shown, it was usually the lower class whites who lived in concubinage with willing negresses and who raised children by them. Men of that type did not do much preaching of any kind. If the Negro women did not initiate the alliances, they did not resist the advances of their white paramours. In asking that "white toughs and white aristocrats"

* In colonial days this was particularly true of Anglo-Saxons. The French or Spanish who interbred with natives or Negroes often provided for their offspring and recognized the responsibilities of fatherhood in such unions.

leave their girls alone the writer unconsciously admits the Negro race's greatest weakness—its sexual immorality. All the colored girl has to do is to say, "No!" There may be persuasion, but there is no compulsion to do wrong. The predatory male—a "wolf" we call him today—is always on the lookout for a victim, be she white or black.* And the Negro maiden might well take to heart Milton's lines:

*"Love virtue, she alone is free
She can teach ye how to climb
Higher than the spherie chime:
Or if virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her."*

White Anglo-Saxons have racial pride and they do not marry darker skinned peoples. Nor do their women bear children by Negro men. If this were not so, in the twelve southern states there would not be 35,000,000 white people today. Many would be of mixed blood. In several states in the South over a period of one hundred and fifty years there have been almost as many Negroes as there are white people. If there had not been the prejudice against intermarriage, there would now be fewer whites and many more mulattoes, as in Cuba and Brazil. The South by its attitude has saved America from the fate of those two countries.

It is true that there has been entirely too much race mixing in the South. And for this many northern writers have sneeringly blamed the better class southern people. They have harped repeatedly on the theme that practically all southern planters lived with colored concubines. One would almost believe that it was the custom for them to maintain harems full of beautiful quadroons and octoroons.

A superficial analysis will show how false such ideas are. In the first place the code of morality of the average southerner was not any worse than that of the northerner.

Most of the slave owners were men of family, and the head of a family was no more apt to enter into extra-marital relations then than he would be now. The majority of men go along the road of respectability, first, because more happiness lies that way, and second because there are practical difficulties in the committing of sexual indiscretions.

* The motto over the mantel in the pipe room of the old Keen's Chop House in New York, "Only the chaste are not chased," is still pertinent.

The number of large slave owners was small. Most owners had one or two or three slaves for house servants. The smaller owners can be eliminated as the cause of lightening of the color of the Negroes in this country. If a man owned a woman slave outright for the purpose of concubinage, he would have been socially ostracized. Usually slaves married or lived with each other as man and wife.

It might be interesting to glance at this table taken from the Census of 1860. It shows the number of slave holding families in the United States with their average holdings.

Total number of slave owners		384,884
Number owning	1 slave	77,333
" "	2 slaves	46,165
" "	3 "	44,859
" "	4 "	28,979
" "	5 "	24,278
" "	6 "	20,632
" "	7 "	17,260
" "	8 "	14,864
" "	9 "	12,522
" "	10-14 slaves	40,388
" "	15-19 "	21,322
" "	20-30 "	20,796
" "	30-40 "	9,648
" "	40-50 "	5,179
" "	50-70 "	5,218
" "	70-100 "	3,149
" "	100-200 "	1,980
" "	200-300 "	224
" "	300-500 "	74
" "	500-1000 "	13
" "	1000 and over	1

The number of slaves in 1860 was 3,953,742. The average was about 10 slaves to the owner (in 1790 it was 7.3), but 20% of the owners had only one slave and 44% of them owned three or less. The number of plantation owners possessing 300 or more slaves just before the Civil War was 88, and the number of owners, generally on plantations, who owned 100 or more slaves totaled 2,292. Some of these owners may have led immoral lives, but even if they all did, this relatively small group could account for only a small percentage of the mulattoes.

Neither can the sons of the owners of these plantations be held responsible for the numerous mulattoes. As young bloods they may have been loose in their morals, but their relations with slaves or other colored women would have been more or less casual, and not such as to result in children being born. There were of course instances where they did live with slave concubines and have children by them. Again the number of sons of large estate owners was comparatively small. If all had been fathers of mulattoes, in two or three generations the total would have been a negligible percentage.

It must be remembered that in the days before the Civil War family pride played a considerable part in peoples' lives, and, while young Southerners were often wild and dissolute, they were not inclined to bring disgrace on their families by breeding with Negroes and mulattoes. The better class families of the South cannot be blamed for the racial intermixing that has taken place in this country.

On the plantations, the mulatto children were generally the result of illicit relations between the overseers, who were often northerners, and slaves or free Negroesses. Actually the plantations did not breed many mulattoes.* The real trouble was in the cities and towns.

That the plantations are not responsible for the large mulatto population is proved by the fact that in the cities there have always

* The comments of W. H. Russell in "My Diary—North and South" throw some light on this matter. On his way up the Mississippi River after leaving New Orleans in June 1862, he visited several large sugar plantations. His first stop was at that of a former Louisiana Governor, André Roman, where he went to see the slave quarters. He wrote "The women were not very well-favored: one yellow girl, with fair hair and light eyes, whose child was quite white excepted . . ." From this observation it would seem that out of one hundred or more slaves there were not many mulattoes.

At the Orange Grove plantation, across the river from Donaldsonville, Louisiana, one of John Burnside's properties (Burnside was one of the largest and richest sugar planters in the world) Russell noted: "Then, again, there were more children with fair complexions to be seen peeping out of the huts; some of these were attributed to the former owner, one Johnson by name, but Mr. Gibbs, as if to vindicate his memory, told me confidentially he had paid a large sum of money to the former proprietor of the estate for one of his children, and had carried it away with him when he left. 'You could not expect him, you know,' said Gibbs, 'to buy them all at the prices that were then goin in '56'."

been more mulattoes than in the country. In fact the proportion is very much greater. In the District of Columbia, City of Washington, in 1850 there were 42.18 mulattoes to every 100 blacks. In 1860 the percentage of mulattoes in total number of Negroes was:

In New Orleans	48.9%	in the rest of Louisiana	11%
In Savannah	18.1%	in the rest of Georgia	8.2%
In Charleston	25.2%	in the rest of S. Carolina	5.5%

The cities offered better opportunity for secrecy, and they also contained many more of what might be called the lower classes. In cities congregate the criminals, the wastrels and the submerged tenth. Cities have ever been wicked. Of course cities are a cross section of human nature, and while in them is found a larger concentration of vice, there is also found a larger concentration of responsibility, of ability as well as of virtue.

It is interesting to note that according to the census returns the admixture of white and colored blood is most prevalent in sections where the proportion of Negroes to whites is smallest and least prevalent where the proportion of Negroes to whites is largest.

In 1850 nearly one-half of the colored people in non-slave holding states were mulattoes. In the slave-holding states only one out of nine were mulattoes. In Ohio and the territories there were more mulattoes than blacks. The following table gives the number of mulattoes to every one hundred blacks:

Ohio	129
District of Columbia	42.18
Pennsylvania	40.7
Wisconsin	87.7
Indiana	89.5
Illinois	85.5
New York	19.0
Southern States	11.1

How then may we account for the large number of colored people in the United States who are mulattoes or who show evidences of having white blood?

In the first place race mixing began before the slaves were imported into the United States. In fact before the Portuguese traders established posts on the Guinea Coast in the fifteenth century, Arabs and Berbers had been in contact with Central African Negroes and had left traces of their alliances with native women.

The Portuguese had no compunction against miscegenation and "lived" with the native women. Thus a considerable number of slaves who came from parts of Africa where white men had been living had a touch of white blood.*

Again the women on the slave ships were often taken advantage of by the sailors and traders who brought them over, and they were sometimes pregnant by a white male when they reached these shores.

Slavery in the United States began at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, but the early importation was limited. In 1714, nearly one hundred years later, there were in the United States from New Hampshire to Carolina, only 58,850 "blacks," according to H. C. Carey.

In 1681 in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 20% of the slave population were mulattoes. Even at this early date race mixing between whites and blacks was frequent.

This early miscegenation was due to several causes. First there was the scarcity of white women. Indentured white servants had illicit relations with Negro women, and sometimes white female servants with Negro men. Again, among the first settlers in any colony are adventurers, outcasts, and soldiers who are seldom concerned about morals or are particular about the looks or color of the women with whom they consort. In all outposts men "take up" with native women.† These "squaw men" (as the white men in Western pioneer days who lived with Indian women were called), meet with little social opprobrium until the white women arrive. Then racial pride asserts itself, and the "squaw men" are ostracized.

In India, on the coast of Africa, in the East Indies, in South America, in numerous Pacific Islands—in all far away countries when the first adventurers arrived the native women welcomed the white men. Miscegenation and concubinage were common. As a result, in all these countries there are large groups of half breeds.

The early colonists in the United States realized the disadvantages of miscegenation to the white race. Strict laws were passed prohibiting the marriage of Negroes with whites. Maryland passed

* Reuter says that possibly 50% had some trace of a previous intermixture with whites. I think this is entirely too high.

† The opera *Madame Butterfly* is a poignant expression of the theme discussed here. And "The Spahi's Love Story" by Pierre Loti shows how climate and sex and absence from home will overcome the white man's scruples.

such a law in 1663; Massachusetts in 1700, North Carolina in 1715, Pennsylvania in 1725,* and other colonies at later dates.

The Union armies during and after the Civil War contributed their share toward the lightening of the Negro race. W. H. Thomas, in "The American Negro," says that wherever the Federal armies were camped Negro women flocked to their quarters. He writes: "All occupied cities, suburban rendezvous and rural bivouacs, bore witness to the mad havoc daily wrought in black womanhood by our citizen soldiery. We have personal knowledge of many Federal officers of high station and some of strong prejudices against the race, who openly kept Negro mistresses in their army quarters; nor do we doubt that the present lax morality everywhere among Negro womankind is largely due to the licentious freedom which the war engendered among them."

Reuter points out that venereal diseases were not common in the South before the War except in the large cities. The plantation Negroes were generally free from them. But following the wake of the Northern soldiers the diseases spread rapidly throughout the Negro population of the South.

After the Civil War "carpet baggers" who came South often married or lived in concubinage with Negro women. Even the notorious Thaddeus Stevens had a Negro mistress, and his followers in the South imitated him generally.

* The Pennsylvania law was repealed in 1780, and marriage between white women and blacks became common. Reuter quotes Branagan's "Serious Remonstrances": "I solemnly declare, I have seen more white women married to and deluded through the arts of seduction by negroes in one year in Philadelphia, than for the eight years I was visiting. (The West Indies and the Southern States.) There are many, very many blacks, who . . . begin to feel themselves consequential . . . will not be satisfied unless they get white women for wives, and are likewise exceedingly impertinent to white persons in low circumstances. I know a black man who seduced a young white girl . . . who soon after married him and died with a broken heart: on her death he said he would not disgrace himself to have a negro wife, and acted accordingly, for he soon married another white woman. There are perhaps hundreds of white women thus fascinated by black men in this city, and there are thousands of black children by them at present." The removal of legal restrictions encouraged such unions, but undoubtedly, the desperate plight of female bond servants, many of whom landed at Philadelphia, furthered these racial intermarriages.

Thus we see that it is not the Southern aristocrat who is responsible for the mulattoes of America, but more often the men of the North.

The census returns for several decades have purported to give the number of mulattoes in the United States, but it is admitted even by the Census Bureau itself that the statistics contain a wide margin of error. Mulatto censuses taken in these years show the following percentages of mulattoes in the Negro population: 1850, 11.2%; 1860, 13.2%; 1870, 12%; 1890, 15.2%; 1910, 20.9%, and 1920, 15.9%. From a practical standpoint, however, these percentages are probably not far wrong.

Census enumerators were instructed to make their reports from "appearances." Strictly speaking, the word *mulatto* designates a person who is half white and half Negro, but it is usual to class as a "mulatto" a person that shows evidences of having considerable white blood. In census reports any colored person with noticeably white blood is called a *mulatto*, although he may have only $\frac{1}{4}$ or even $\frac{1}{8}$ white blood. The degree of white blood cannot be determined by observation because sometimes a person with a large percentage of white blood will have a dark skin, and one with a larger proportion of Negro blood will have a light skin.

In the United States, particularly in the South, anyone with a drop of Negro blood is considered a Negro. Therefore, the term *Negro* includes every graduation of color from the blackest skinned individual to one with blue eyes, pale skin and only a slight evidence of Negro ancestry.

Herskovits has made a study of this subject and estimates that the Negroes of pure African descent in the United States are less than 20% of those who are listed in the census returns as Negroes. He formed this estimate by talking to hundreds of Negroes and asking them about their ancestry. The reliability of such information is questionable, but, even if it were approximately correct, the locale of most of his cases was New York or Washington where the proportion of mulattoes is greater.

While there may not be many more pure Negroes than Herkovits estimates, if we include those with only a small amount of white blood, we find that the majority of Negroes are black or *almost* so. By "black" I mean of pure African descent, since African Negroes are dark brown as well as black. Thus 80% of those classified as

Negroes are in looks and characteristics Negroes, and may be classified as of pure descent. I offer the following arbitrary estimate of the approximate percentages of Negro blood in those listed in the census as Negroes.

Of pure African descent	35 %
15/16 Negro Blood—1/16 white.....	25 %
7/8 Negro blood and 1/8 white	20 %
3/4 " " " 1/4 "	15 %
1/2 " " " 1/2 "	2 %
1/4 " " " 3/4 "	1 1/2 %
1/8 " " " 7/8 "	1 %
1/16 " " " 15/16 "	1/2 %
	<hr/> 100 %

The last three brackets may show too great a percentage, because very often those almost white "pass the color line" and remove themselves permanently from their classification as Negroes.* 25,000 a year are said to pass the color line permanently. This figure is undoubtedly too high. 1/2 of 1% of the thirteen million Negroes in the United States gives 65,000. Add to this 1%, or 130,000, we have a total of 195,000. At the above rate of "passing" in eight years all those in the two bottom brackets—octoroon or lighter— would disappear. As there are still many octoroons, the permanent passing is not as great as is claimed. Many Negroes pass for convenience—that is to eat in white restaurants, to avoid Jim-Crow segregation and even for social purposes—but in their family relations they do not attempt to leave the Negro race but marry Negroes and allow themselves to be classified as such.

Some, however, conceal their origin, move to a city or town where they are unknown, and explain away the dark hue of their skins by claiming to be a Cuban, Portuguese, Filipino or Latin-American. And this is where the real concern lies. The crossing of the color line by permanent "passing" is of great danger to the white race.

* H. Gregoire said that before a Negro can pass as a white man five generations must be without further Negro blood after the original cross. This would mean 1-32, and seems unnecessarily refined. Perhaps four generations or 1-16 Negro blood would make him sufficiently light to pass, or even three generations with 1/8 Negro blood.

Most of the mulattoes born in the United States are illegitimate. And those with various degrees of white blood wear on their faces their escutcheons on which are emblazoned the bar sinister.*

Marriage between the white and Negro races is prohibited in these thirty states:

Alabama	Montana
Arizona	Nebraska
Arkansas	Nevada
California	North Carolina
Colorado	North Dakota
Delaware	Oklahoma
Florida	Oregon
Georgia	South Carolina
Idaho	South Dakota
Indiana	Tennessee
Kentucky	Texas
Louisiana	Utah
Maryland	Virginia
Mississippi	West Virginia
Missouri	Wyoming

It is interesting to note that in sixteen of these states the laws against racial intermarriage mention the Negro and white races. But in eight states the laws prohibit intermarriage of the Caucasian with Negro and Mongolian races. One state prohibits Caucasian intermarriage with Negroes, Mongolians, Malays and Hindus; four states with Negroes, Mongolians and Malays; and one state with Negroes and Malays. Virginia prohibits intermarriage of the Caucasian race with any other race. Thus public sentiment as expressed by these laws is against the intermarriage of the white race with Negroes, Malays, Mongolians, and American Indians as well as East Indians.

However, in all states east of the Mississippi River and North of the Mason and Dixon line, there is no legal prohibition against the marriage of mixed races except in Indiana and Delaware.

It is difficult to obtain records on the extent of Negro-white marriages. The City of Boston, among our large cities in the North, is one of the few that records mixed marriages. New York City

* However, many white families—if one goes back far enough—have the same humble origin. It simply doesn't show.

does not distinguish between the races in keeping its marriage records, but in New York State, this record is kept.

In the United States marriages between Negroes and whites are infrequent. This is due to the fact that in the states above mentioned live 10,252,000 of the 12,865,000 Negroes in the United States. This leaves only 2,613,000 who live in states that permit them to marry a white person. In addition to the legal prohibitions, there is the social restriction and the natural racial antagonism that discourage mixed marriages.

In the North where inter-racial marriages occur the majority of the grooms are Negroes or mulattoes. Of 171 mixed marriages reported by one sociologist 158 grooms were Negroes. Of 111 in Michigan reported by Hoffman, 93 were white women who married Negro men. From nine studies of such marriages in Boston, New York City, N. Y. State; Michigan, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, it was found in 83% of the Negro-white marriages the groom was a Negro. The social and economic status of the Negro male participant in such marriages is higher than that of the female, while the white male who marries a Negro woman is usually of a low class both socially and economically, and so are the white females.*

Boston furnishes us with the best record of mixed marriages available. From 1867 to 1890 the mixed marriages in Boston averaged 25 per year. In 1904 in Boston 13.6% of all the Negro marriages were mixed marriages. In 1918 this percentage had gone down to 5.2%, and in 1923 it was 3.1%, but in 1938 it rose to 3.7%.

In New York State, except New York City, 1.7% of the Negro marriages were mixed marriages. Combining the percentages of Boston, 3.7% with New York State exclusive of New York City, 1.7%, we can strike an average of 2.7%. This might be low for New York City where a majority of the Negroes in the state live. Probably in Chicago and Philadelphia and other cities with large Negro populations, the rate is not as high. We might then arbitrarily estimate the rate, that is the percentage of mixed marriages in the total Negro marriages, to be 2%. Estimating the number of marriages at 1.1% of the population, out of 2,613,000 Negroes in the states where there are no legal restrictions against racial inter-

* Not all of the Boston brides who marry Negroes are low class, however. In September 1944 Time records the birth of a mulatto (presumably) child to a prominent Harvard-educated Boston Negro and his white Back Bay one-time socialite wife.

marriage, we would then have 28,743 Negro marriages a year. 2% of these are mixed marriages. This would give us about 575 such marriages a year in the United States. Children of these mixed marriages are the only legitimate mulattoes born in this country.

It has long been the desire of some Negroes and negrophiles to bring about the intermarriage of blacks and whites. They even advocate racial fusion because it will improve the white race by giving it so-called "hybrid vigor." Modern Negro publicists preach this doctrine, but it is not new. In 1864 D. G. Croly wrote in "Miscegenation" (New York):

All that is needed to make us the finest race on Earth is to engraft upon 'em the negro element, which Providence has placed by our side on this continent. . . . The white people of America are dying for want of fresh blood. . . . until church and state and society recognize not only the propriety but the necessity of the marriage of white and black . . . in short, until the great truth shall be declared in our public documents and announced in the messages of our Presidents, that it is desirable that the white man shall marry the black woman and the white woman the black man.

Let us look at some of the biological aspects of the mixing of the Negro and the white race. It used to be thought that mulattoes were always inferior to both the white and the black race—that they inherited the weaknesses of both. It is now believed that such a mixture is not necessarily disadvantageous to the mulatto because he sometimes inherits the good qualities of both races. But on the whole, biologists believe that the Negro-white hybrid is a biological mistake.

In the "Biological Basis of Human Nature," H. S. Jennings, one of the world's leading authorities, writes: "To the superior race admixture with the inferior one is adulteration; it means a lowering of quality. All other biological considerations give way to this one." J. Arthur Thomson says, "As regards the intermingling of distant races the biological evidence is clear—that happy results seldom follow." Eugene Pittard, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Geneva, asserts:*

When two peoples of different name and language but of the same ethnic origin fuse, such, for example, as Italians and

* "Race and History," translated by U. C. C. Collum. Pittard's bibliography contains over 300 books, written in several languages, by authors from many different countries.

French people of Mediterranean race, or Scandinavians and Germans of Nordic Race, there is no risk to be run from heredity by either group. Both will retain their own qualities, their respective racial values. But when the amalgam is brought about as between two highly different races there is genuine danger for Eugenics.

Writes Chas. A. Elwood, Professor of Sociology at the University of Missouri:

It is not surprising, therefore, to find among the mulattoes a great amount of constitutional diseases and a great tendency to crime and immorality. Again mulatto women are more frequently debauched by white men than the pure blood Negro women, and for this reason Negro women of mixed blood are more apt to be immoral. So we see that while the mixed bloods have furnished the leaders of their race they have also furnished an undue proportion of its vice and crime.

Whether the immorality is due to inheritance and to degeneracy in hybrids or to social causes is debatable.

Writing of the (more or less) complete fusion of existing races, Edwin Grant Conklin, Professor of Biology at Princeton University says:*

What the results of such fusion may be we can only guess, though its effects in ancient Egypt, Greece, Italy and more recently in various countries of eastern Europe, the West Indies, Mexico and South America are by no means reassuring. . . . But it is practically certain that the general or average result of the crossing of a better and poorer race is to strike a balance somewhere between the two.

F. L. Hoffman in "Race Traits and Tendencies" says that the mulatto is in every way the inferior of the black and of all races the one possessed of the least vital force. He says that they have not the physical stamina and refers to excerpts from the Provost Marshal General's report of the Civil War to prove his point. Morally, writes Hoffman, mulattoes are lower than blacks. Intellectually they are superior.

A well-known study of the results of miscegenation is that of C. B. Davenport and Morris Steggerda made in 1926 and 1927 under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute at Washington. The

* From his article "The Trend of Evolution, in the Evolution of Man" (Yale University Press, 1922).

results were published in a book, "Race Crossing in Jamaica."* Studies were made of three adult groups engaged in agriculture—blacks, whites and hybrids. Several hundred children in all development stages were also studied. In summing up, the authors find that in differential traits the browns are much closer to the blacks than whites. Perhaps black traits are dominant. There was no evidence of the so-called hybrid vigor in the browns. Mental traits were found to vary as physical traits do. In the Jamaican tests there were only a few traits in which the browns graded higher than the whites or blacks.

Davenport in another article (1917) concludes that there is evidence of physical, mental and instinct disharmonies in hybrids. This view was stressed by Mjoen in 1923 at the Eugenics Conference in New York City.

It is doubtful that hybrid vigor results from race intermixing. Jennings says that in race crosses so far studied "hybrid vigor has not shown itself in a very marked way." There are many disadvantages of racial crossing and often many disharmonies arise. Among these are a large body with a small kidney or a small heart; a large heart with a small body; large teeth and a small jaw; flat nose and receding jaw; long legs and a long body; or short legs and a short body, and so on.

On the other hand, Negroes who have achieved success and who are the leaders of their race are usually part white. The amalgamation of the races has had a beneficial effect on some Negroes. In 1918 E. B. Reuter issued his well-known study entitled "The Mulatto in the United States."† In this most comprehensive study, Reuter gives a list of Negroes who achieved prominence during the three hundred years of their history in the United States. This list was checked against other compilations made by Negro leaders at various times. Reuter's list, which contains some mediocre people—people who would never have been noticed if they had not been Negroes—totals 246. Of these 246 persons, 227 were mulattoes, 16

* This is a remarkable study (516 pages 8x10 in. with charts and tables)—morphological, physiological, developmental and eugenical. Besides the psychological tests, each person was given 63 physical measurements. One hour and ten minutes was spent on each subject. 165 browns were examined, 105 blacks and 100 whites, all of the same social grade. 1,200 children of school and pre-school age also were tested.

† Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston.

were black and 13 were unclassified. There are 14 mulattoes to one black. Estimating that over the period of his study, 10% of the Negroes in the United States were mulattoes, we see that this 10% has produced 85% of the superior men of the race. Of course, the Negroes who have come into prominence in the last quarter century are not listed, but I think that Reuter's proportion of mulattoes to pure Negroes would still hold true.

Mulattoes may be inferior to white people, but they are superior in mentality to pure blooded Negroes. Mulattoes furnish the brains for the Negro race today. A writer in the Encyclopedia Britannica states that "the recognized leaders of the race are almost invariably persons of mixed blood, and the qualities which have made them leaders are derived certainly in part and perhaps mainly from their white ancestry." Says Shull in "Heredity": "Admixture of white blood is also related to professional and commercial success of the Negro."

Pierson in his study of Brazil found, as did Reuter in the United States, that nearly all of the prominent men are mixed bloods and of the lighter shades. Very few pure black Negroes have attained or do attain fame and fortune in Brazil.

Hawaii is the world's best example of a "melting pot" of races. This island territory has a population made up of more divergent races than any other country in the world. Dr. Robert E. Park says it is "the most thoroughly scrambled community in the world."

An analysis of the various races that go to make up the population of Hawaii shows that there are over twelve major racial elements in it. First, there was the native population, which at the time of Captain Cook's discovery, was nearly as large as the population of the islands today. The natives were Malaysians and Polynesians. Since the discovery the Islands were visited by missionaries, English and American, the usual seafarers, adventurers, and beach combers. During the last hundred years there have been imported into Hawaii, Polynesians from the Gilbert Islands, Spaniards, Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Greeks, Russians, Germans, Scandinavians, Poles, South Americans, East Indians, people from almost every nation and race in the world, and, of course, Americans.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HAWAII'S POPULATION
(Estimated for 1941—from the World Almanac)

Hawaiian	14,250
Part Hawaiian	52,500

Puerto Rican	8,500
Caucasian	141,500
Chinese	29,000
Japanese	159,000
Korean	7,000
Filipinos	52,000
All others	1,000
	<hr/>
	464,750

In Hawaii there is no law against intermarriage of races nor is there any public sentiment against it. As a consequence there is more mixed blood in Hawaii than in probably any other country on the globe. It is said that "to be happy in Honolulu you must be at least color blind." But the results of this race mixing have been most unfavorable. The hybrids and half breeds in the islands have not developed into a high type, physically or mentally.

The melting pot in the final analysis means mongrelism. The idea is abhorrent to the good sense of our people. The melting pot is opposed to the American theory of individuality. As we do not want to give up our own personalities, our racial pride should prevent us from giving up our racial superiority by merging and blending with peoples of an inferior strain.

Amalgamation of the races is not the solution of racial problems. It has not solved the problem of other countries. If it did there would not be the many European racial groups that still hold on tenaciously to their national aspirations. Many wars have been caused by the disinclination of one group of people to absorb or amalgamate with another.

For the Caucasian race to absorb such a divergent stock as the Negro would be calamity indeed. As we preserve the pure breeds of our horses, cattle, dogs, and chickens, we must preserve the purity of our own race.

In closing this chapter I quote the words of James Bryce, author of "The American Commonwealth," who in his Romanes Lecture (1902) "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind," said: "If, therefore, we were to suppose the blood of the races which are now most advanced to be diluted, so to speak, by that of the most backward, not only would more be lost to the former than would be gained to the latter, but there would be a loss, possibly an irreparable loss to the world at large."

And Roland B. Dixon, former Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, in his famous book, "The Racial History of Man" (Scribners) writes: "The other danger, and undoubtedly the greater, is lest the quality of the alloy to be produced be weakened by the inclusion of other than the best ingredients. That there is a difference between the fundamental human types in quality, in intellectual capacity, in moral fibre, in all that makes or has made any people great, I believe to be true, despite what advocates of the uniformity of man may say."

Finally, we may ask with that profound thinker and scholar, William Benjamin Smith of Tulane, the question: "Will not the slumberous apathy in which the dark continent broods away its aeons surely fall upon the people that drink its blood into their own veins?"

CHAPTER XV.

CAN THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES BE SOLVED?

THE race problem is worldwide, but in the United States it is particularly pressing because of the presence of 13,000,000 Negroes. Their leaders are demanding a change of status, and the agitation for equality and the continued complaint about racial prejudice aggravates further the disharmony existing between the white and black races. What are we going to do about it?

The problem of the American Negro seems insoluble. Many writers have come to this conclusion. J. M. Mecklin, a student and writer on the Negro question, said in 1914: "The race question belongs to this class of essentially insoluble problems." André Siegfried, famous French economist whose book, "America Comes of Age," is a modern counterpart of De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," wrote in 1927: "No matter which way we turn in the North or South there seems to be no solution." David L. Cohn, popular writer and long a resident of the South, in the Atlantic Monthly for January, 1944, said, "The Negro question is insoluble."

Some believe that the only solution is for the ninety percent Caucasian majority to absorb the ten percent Negro minority. Such an amalgamation is genetically and socially undesirable as has been shown. Furthermore, the white people of the United States will never agree to or permit this method of solving the problem, as the white race will resist every effort to dilute its racial purity and bring about its destruction. American Negroes must remain a separate race and they can achieve success, seek happiness and fulfill their destiny in some other manner.

There are three ways by which the Negro race can alter conditions and obtain the economic and social justice which it is claimed the race is now denied:

1. By emigration.
2. By an intensive segregation in the United States.
3. By the development of "parallel civilizations" in the United States.

Let us consider these possibilities and see what advantages each has to offer to Negroes who are dissatisfied and who want to improve their position.

EMIGRATION

There are many parts of the world to which Negroes could migrate, where they could have a nation of their own, and where they could develop their own civilization free from the interference of the white man. Africa has many thousand square miles suited to the establishment of such a nation. Liberia and Nigeria are already functioning as Negro communities. There is room in each for millions more of American Negroes. Should Negroes from the United States migrate to these countries they would bring western civilization and the American way of doing things. Better educated than the natives, they could take charge of these backward countries, helping to civilize them and making them into great nations.

South America also offers opportunity to the emigrant. Some South American states might object to a large number of Negro settlers, but there are hundreds of millions of acres of unused and undeveloped land in the great continent of South America, and place could be found for several million Negroes if they cared to go there. Brazil, which has no racial antipathy, might offer to American Negroes a haven and an opportunity.

Although the idea of the Negro emigrating from the United States is said to be impractical and preposterous, yet it is not only not absurd, but Negro emigration is extremely feasible in these days of great achievement. The age of migration is not over. In fact the movement of people from one country to another is more extensive today than it ever was before in the history of the world. Much of this migration is forced, but never before have such vast bodies of human beings in such a short period of time moved over such wide stretches to start life in a new country and in new surroundings.

It was estimated by the International Labor Office ("The Displacement of Population in Europe") that more than thirty million of the inhabitants of the Continent of Europe were transplanted or torn from their homes after War II began. This figure did not include the millions of German and Italian refugees who left their heavily bombed cities to live in safer areas.

The United Nations Relief Rehabilitation Administration estimated unofficially that eight million of these displaced and uprooted people were in Germany during the war, of which 2,500,000 were Poles, 1,666,000 French and 1,800,000 Russians.

The Germans themselves migrated. Over 2,500,000 Germans went from the Reich to occupied countries. Over 2,000,000 refugees left the bombed areas to go other parts of Germany. Now they have returned—those that are alive—or are returning to their original homes.

From Poland 1,327,000 war prisoners were taken to Germany. 1,500,000 people, including 500,000 Jews, went from eastern Polish provinces occupied by the Russians to eastern Russia, Iran and India. 2,000,000 Poles, including 460,000 Jews were shifted around in their own country. In Czechoslovakia 520,000 people, Czechs, including 100,000 Jews, were sent to other countries. 230,000 Czechs were moved from one area of Czechoslovakia to another. In Russia twelve million people were evacuated from western Russia to the East. Many of these people have been repatriated, or returned to their former homes.

In Punjab, India in 1947 over 5,000,000 persons—about 2,500,000 Moslems and like number of Hindus—swapped places between that country and the Dominion of India. This uprooting of people long established brought about extreme suffering and sorrow.

While the recent movement of peoples in Europe was due to the war, only a slight part of the migrations being voluntary, there have been other migratory movements in the last hundred years that have been enormous in extent. To the United States from 1821 to 1942 have come 38½ million people, and, up until World War II, large and steady migrations were taking place in other parts of the world. For instance, the movement of the Germans and the Italians to Brazil and the Argentine and of the Japanese to Manchuria, Korea and the Philippines has been extensive. The Japanese have gone in large numbers into Brazil also. Immigration into the United States would have been even heavier had not our immigration laws restricted it.

From 1900 to 1914 in fifteen years 13,376,000 immigrants came to the United States as follows:

1900—1904	3,255,000
1905—1909	4,947,000
1910—1914	5,174,000
	<hr/>
	13,376,000

This equals the number of Negroes in the United States. It would be perfectly feasible for all Negroes to leave this country in a like

period of time if they so cared to, provided the emigrants used their own private resources and were aided by the governments of the interested countries or by public-spirited citizens.

Psychologically this is the time for change. It is a time of unrest, and, before the world settles down to a period of peace, migrations can occur without being too upsetting, producing economic disruptions, or affecting the migrants too disadvantageously. Negroes can achieve justice, equality and economic opportunity, which they say they are denied in the United States, by creating a new commonwealth in another land and on another continent.

This, of course, is not a new idea. There have in fact been many organized efforts to found a Negro nation or all-Negro community such as the Jews have in Palestine. "Zionism" for American Negroes has been advocated for over one hundred and twenty-five years. The American Colonization Society, organized in 1817, made the first practical effort to obtain for Negroes a permanent home in another country. The Society founded Liberia where freed slaves could go to start life anew, and where they could manage their own affairs. The Society arranged for their transportation. Monrovia, named after President Monroe, was founded in 1821.

The story of Liberia has been told in another chapter. It was not a success as a colonization scheme, and after the Civil War very few if any Negroes from the United States went there to live.

In 1862 acting on the suggestion of President Lincoln, who wanted to send Negroes out of the United States, Congress appropriated \$600,000 for this purpose. The first ship load was sent to Ile de Vache in Haiti. The colony soon failed, and Lincoln had to send another ship to bring back the survivors.

Perhaps the greatest effort to encourage emigration of American Negroes to Africa was the colonization scheme proposed by Marcus Garvey in 1918. Garvey, a skillful propagandist and orator, succeeded in gaining the support of several million followers, who agreed to return to Africa to re-establish a Black Empire. Unfortunately, Garvey, in the promotion of his scheme, organized a steamship company and sold the stock by mail. Because he failed to carry out some of his promises, he was indicted, tried and convicted for violating the law against using the mails to defraud. It is doubtful whether Garvey was guilty by intent, and if he had not insisted on acting as his own lawyer, probably would have been

acquitted. His conviction put a damper on the enthusiasm of his followers, but even after serving a sentence, Garvey was on the way to reviving the movement when he died.

In 1937 U. S. Senator Bilbo from Mississippi again proposed that Negroes migrate to Africa. He obtained the signatures of over three and a half million American Negroes who agreed to go to Africa provided means could be found to pay their transportation.

It will thus be seen that the idea of Negroes emigrating from the United States is not only not foolish but entirely acceptable to many of the race. It is also practicable. If several million people are willing to migrate means can be found to assist them. Negro migration need not be confined to Liberia. There are other parts of Africa which could easily absorb from one to five million Negroes from the United States, or even the whole thirteen million if they wanted to go. Nigeria and tropical Africa, already the home of millions of pure Negroes, could easily accommodate those from the United States, affording them all the land for agricultural purposes. There are other sections of Africa where arable land is plentiful, awaiting the plow of an energetic people to make it yield a fair crop of wheat, cotton and other products of the soil.

And if Africa cannot supply enough land of the right kind, there are millions of acres in South America available to settlers. The land can be found. The question is, "Do American Negroes want to leave the United States to begin life again under what should be more favorable circumstances?" My opinion is that the majority of them do not. Like most backward and down-trodden people they prefer to bear the ills they have. Actually, as I have shown, the ills American Negroes bear are not much more burdensome than those that borne by others in our country. The condition of American Negroes is much better than that of the vast majority of people in the world.

But, accepting the propaganda of Negro leaders at its face value, one wonders why they would not even now be packing their grips and making arrangements to buy a few of the thousands of Liberty ships on the market at sacrifice prices, to transport themselves and their possessions to a land where Negroes could establish their own Government, control their own social organization and create their own civilization. Having now learned the white man's civilization, and having had the contacts which it is alleged their ancestors never had in their thousands of years of savagery, Negroes

will then be able to prove—if they can—that the Negro Race is the equal or even superior to the despised Caucasian Race. This is indeed a vision for the ambitious Negro.

But do we find anyone among them dreaming such a dream? Poor Marcus Garvey, derided and laughed at by Negro intellectuals and scorned by smug, well-to-do Negroes, had this vision. He would lead his race to a greatness it had never yet achieved. He wanted millions of his race to leave the United States and settle in another country, where they could be segregated and allowed to govern themselves and to develop their capabilities. As long as they are in the United States, unless absorbed by the white race, Negroes must "play second fiddle" to the white people and be dominated by them. Negroes must suffer what they assert are the arrows of outrageous fortune, but which in reality are nothing more than the pin pricks of social prejudice.*

Why could not Negro leaders gather together those who would follow and all go to a happier shore? Led by strong capable men, willing to undergo hardships and privations, Negroes should be able to found a colony which if successful would attract others of their race.

The colonists who settled early America came over to make good. To anyone who has read the inspiring "History of Plimouth Colony" by Governor Bradford the reason for America's having become a great nation is perfectly plain. The Puritans had many faults, but they were people of character, and they were not only successful colonists, but their philosophy of determination and individualism has influenced the culture and civilization of all the millions of Americans who came after. If Negroes feel they are mistreated in the United States, let them emulate the Mayflower Pilgrims. Let them show to the world in another country and in another age that they can create a great nation and a great civilization.

The economic effect of millions of people leaving the United States, particularly in certain sections, would be seemingly disastrous. Lands would become vacant, stores lose their customers, and plantations, contractors and employers would lose their labor. Some parts of the South would possess only ghost villages and towns.

* While stronger against those possessed of darker skins this social discrimination is prevalent among all the grades, ranks and classes of white people themselves.

But if the migration movement were stretched over fifteen or twenty years, adjustments could be easily made, and there could be no economic hardship involved. In fact, to a certain degree, Negroes are even now moving from the South to other sections of the country without causing any undue hardship to the southern people.*

It is hardly necessary, however, to discuss the emigration of the Negro and the possibility of his leaving the United States. He is not going to do it. He hasn't the enterprise, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the determination, and the courage to go to a far away land to begin life anew. Emigration as a solution of the Negro problem in this country must be eliminated.

INTENSIVE SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Let us now look at the second possibility—intensive segregation in the United States. By "intensive segregation" I mean the grouping together in cities or communities of several hundred thousand or more Negroes, such as we find in Harlem, a section of New York City.

There are states like Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico with very small populations. Each state could accommodate a million or more Negroes. Through irrigation desert lands could be made fertile and millions of acres become available to farmers at low prices. Why could not groups of Negroes move into thinly settled sections of these Western states, buy out the present owners, develop agricultural and horticultural areas, and build their own towns and cities?

To gather Negroes into such groups or communities on a large scale is in a manner more difficult than arranging for their emigration to Africa. This is because property ownerships, having already been established, might be difficult to acquire, and to move or displace the present inhabitants might prove to be even more difficult. And yet Negro colonies could be established in sparsely settled sections of the country or even in the Black Belt of the South. Alaska offers untold possibilities, and Negroes who settled in this vast territory could organize their own communities.

A method of promoting large-scale Negro migration to undeveloped sections of the United States could be worked out. Ne-

* Kelley Miller, former famed sociologist of Howard University, once said that if all of the eight million Negroes in the South were dumped into the ocean, the South would not miss them in ten years.

groes themselves would finance the project, or to begin with it could be co-operative. Many of those interested in the welfare of the Negro would be willing to aid financially, and state or government subsidies might be obtainable. Negroes could even try to establish cities "for Negroes only," much the same as Mound Bayou, Mississippi, except on a larger scale. Such cities could be built in various parts of the country.*

I have often wondered why some Negro leaders do not try to put into effect practical ways for improving the condition of Negroes other than the issuance of propaganda, bewailing their fate and complaining of social and economic inequalities. Why haven't some of them tried to direct the migration and re-settlement of a large group of Negroes? It is not necessary to send them to Liberia or Madagascar or South America. Right here in the United States Negroes could plan, organize and create a Negro city that would give them proper housing, a comparatively high standard of living and economic opportunity. The Mormons of a hundred years ago furnish an example. The Mormons first moved from New York to Navaroo, Ill. There, because of their peculiar religious tenets, they were persecuted and forced to leave. Moving again all the way to Utah, they formed a settlement where they lived in accordance with their religious beliefs. The Government finally prohibited the practice of polygamy, and in this respect the Mormons were interfered with, but otherwise they were free to develop in their own way, and they became a prosperous, self-contained and happy people.

There are still available large tracts of land in the United States, not all as fertile perhaps, as that which has already been put into cultivation, but which by fertilization and intensive effort could be farmed profitably. There are other millions of acres, which by drainage or irrigation might be turned into fertile farm lands. Some desert lands of Arizona have been made into good cotton producing lands through irrigation. A Negro development

* There are several all-Negro real estate developments in the United States and more are being established. There is one residential town in New Jersey whose homes are nearly all owned by Negroes. In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, an all-Negro residential project has been started. In October, 1947, an all-Negro residential settlement was begun in Jeffersonville, Indiana, across the river from Louisville, Ky. Building was started on a 406-acre tract to contain 2,800 homes. More than 1,400 Negroes from eight states had already bought lots. The houses cost from \$3,500 to \$10,000 each.

project could be based on a farming operation since farming is the most stable business in the world.

Negroes should undertake the project of building a Negro city. One would not have to go far to find the nucleus for starting such an enterprise. In the City of New Orleans there are in round figures 150,000 Negroes. Most of them pay high rent for inadequate accommodations—unsanitary, without plumbing, often fire traps of the worst sort. Across the river below the City of New Orleans are many thousands of acres of land that can be bought at comparatively low prices. Some of this land is only four or five miles away. Why could not a group of Negro citizens acquire enough land on which to build a city to house 150,000 people including stores, office buildings, theatres and all other facilities needed by a progressive people? In planning and building such a city this Negro group would not have to depend upon itself for employment at least in the beginning. The industries of the City of New Orleans would still employ them as now. Thus the new city would not have to finance factories and other enterprises. The corporation or association in creating this Negro city would not have to bear the risk that most colonizers run, the failure of the colony to continue on its own momentum. Every part of a successful colony is dependent on the other part, and if one part fails to function the wheels stop revolving.

A colony or city must be made up of a group of individuals who can make the wheels turn.* Its inhabitants must contribute the "elan" or living force that makes it lift itself by its own boot straps, so to speak.

A Negro city located near another large city would not have to depend upon the pay rolls of its own city for sustenance. Its people could, of course, erect factories and create industries. This

* For instance, a billionaire would probably have difficulty in making a success of a city in which he controlled every industry and every business. He might be willing to sell the land to the people who lived there, but when he attempted to finance the factories and the stores he would find that his billions would not last long, because he would have to depend on managers for these various enterprises. And these managers, being subsidized, as it were, would not have the same interest nor fight as hard to survive as if they were independent and had invested their own capital. It is impossible for one man to direct a complicated number of enterprises efficiently. Manufacturing, mercantile and trading businesses are too complicated to have them all owned and operated in a city of any size by one man or corporation.

they would do if they were progressive, and the enterprises would succeed if they were efficiently managed. There is enough wealth among American Negroes to finance the building of an all-Negro city. All that is necessary is that a few leaders of the race inaugurate the movement. They would get help from many white capitalists, and a large part of the real estate operations could be carried on with mortgages.

In a Negro city the Negroes would run everything. They would elect their own officials and conduct their own municipal government. Under the laws of Louisiana they could probably keep white people out. The real estate deeds might be so worded as to prevent property from being owned by white persons.

In Mound Bayou, Mississippi, the Negro-city idea has been carried out on a small scale. Why do not Negroes try it on a large scale?

That Negroes would not be averse to moving to new localities is shown by a study of internal migration in the United States in recent years. The Negro population increased 8.2% from 1930 to 1940. But the urban Negro population increased 20% whereas that of the rural farm areas decreased 3.8%. The increase in the North of the Negro population was 15.8%, whereas in the South it was only 5.8% in that decade. Thus we find Negroes leaving the farms and going to the cities and leaving the South and going to the North. This movement has been continuous for several decades.

Recently wartime activities have increased migration in the United States. California alone has had an increase of over a million people. The proportion of Negroes is not known exactly, but it is large. For instance, in San Francisco in 1940, there were about 2,500 Negroes. In 1944 it is estimated that there are nearly 50,000. Enough Negroes have moved to San Francisco alone to establish a good sized city.

However, the impression that Negroes are fast deserting the South for the North and far West is erroneous. There has been considerable migration, but it is not heavy enough to disturb the economy of the South. Furthermore, the Negro problem in the United States will not be solved by Negroes leaving the South and moving into Northern cities or onto Northern farms. Individually some may find their lot improved, and at present the ambitious mulatto may find it to his advantage to live in the North. But the change from one section of the country to another, unless the idea

of intensive segregation is carried out, will make little difference in the position of the Negro.

After the Civil War it was generally believed that all Negroes would leave the South and settle in Northern states. But Robert Dale Owen in 1864 predicted that Negroes would not leave the South but would stay there. And he was right. In 1878 and 1879, 200,000 Negroes left Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama to go to Kansas. Not over 10,000 got as far as Kansas. The others stopped at points along the way mainly in Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky. For fifty years, until World War I, the movement of Negroes to Northern sections was slight.

Negro leaders are still advising Southern Negroes to move North. For instance, Dan Gardner writes:

When millions of minds are susceptible to vicious, insidious anti-Negro hate propaganda as are the average whites of the South, the situation appears hopeless and gives rise to suggestions that the Negro leave the South en masse for other sections of the country where at least he might be regarded as a human being.

This is bad advice as time will prove. In the first place the warm climate of the South is more agreeable to Negroes than the colder climate of Northern states. Furthermore, Negroes in the North come into competition more with white people, and their economic situation is even worse than it is in the South, where, although wages are lower, living expenses are cheaper. In the South the Negro is among his own people and there are millions of them. Bright and brainy Negroes can do more for their race by staying South and helping their people to improve their condition, rather than by moving away. Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver were actuated by this motive, and lived in the South where their people needed them. The majority of the Negroes in the United States still live in the South, and most individuals of the race will be better off if they stay with the majority. Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, writes in "Health and Wealth" (Harper, 1928):

... undoubtedly the Negro will eventually find his best interests served by staying in the South, where adjustments will make his life easier and richer. His interests will best be served by remaining largely on the farms, where his energies, in general, will be best rewarded.

In the course of time with better educational facilities and greater economic opportunity, which they themselves must help to create, Negroes can be more successful and happier in the South than in any other section of the country.

It must be remembered that Southern people are not asking the Negroes to stay. In fact many would be glad to see them all leave. But, in spite of opinions to the contrary, Southerners have tried to be fair to the Negro, and if they remain and conduct themselves properly, the Negro is assured of the cooperation of Southern whites. For three generations the Southern people have gotten along with emancipated Negroes and their descendants fairly successfully. In spite of the Southerner's attitude toward racial equality, he is the Negro's best friend.

The idea of intensive segregation does not mean that Negroes would have to leave the South. In fact the establishment of all-Negro towns would probably occur first in the South. Of course, large re-settlement projects might require their moving to other states.

Negro families do migrate, and undoubtedly they could be induced to colonize in certain sections or to move to an all-Negro city. The development of all-Negro communities and settlements in the United States is a feasible idea. It requires leadership to put it into effect.

"PARALLEL CIVILIZATIONS" IN THE UNITED STATES

A third possibility for the solution of the Negro problem is seen in the development of bilateral or "parallel civilizations" for the white and black races in the United States. This means a civilization within a civilization—a race living side by side with another race—with it but not of it.

Actually this is the manner in which the problem is solving itself, particularly in the South. For the process to continue and in order to maintain and develop the bilateral arrangement there must be complete equality of opportunity for both Negroes and whites along with complete segregation.

Equalitarians and some Negro leaders oppose the idea of "parallel civilizations." They are seeking social equality, and any theory or arrangement that prevents its realization is unsatisfactory to them.

That the parallel—civilizations theory is workable is proved by all history. In India for thousands of years the caste system has prevented some groups from mingling with others. In European countries various sub-racial groups (not true racial divisions but branches of the Caucasian race) have lived side by side without mingling or merging with each other. The classic example is that of the Jew who for two thousand years has lived in nearly every country of the world without losing his identity. The Basques have maintained their individuality while living in proximity to both the French and the Spanish.

We hear a great deal about how mixed are the races of mankind. Where the stocks are related, where they all belong to the Caucasian race, or the Malay or the Mongolian race, there has been considerable mixing; but that there has been a general admixture of the elemental races of the world is disproved by the fact that these races are still elemental, and still may be roughly divided according to color.

Man has been on the earth for millions of years. Instead of the races of mankind having become more mixed as time goes on, it would seem that they really have become diversified. The *genus homo* ascended from lower forms and of this genus only one species, *homo sapiens*, now exists. From this species there has stemmed several sub-species or varieties. Thus to claim that man today is a blended mixture of many known and unknown racial stocks is to contradict the law of evolution. Beyond the interbreeding with dark-skinned peoples who were brought into Italy by the Romans, later by the Moors in Spain, and then by the Portuguese, such racial mixing as has occurred among European peoples is the mixing of related stocks.

That the races of the world are not a conglomeration as is alleged is proved by the fact that a race, or a "variety" of the same race, sometimes maintains its racial integrity for thousands of years. Sir Arthur Keith says that races last a long time, and that some races may have been 500,000 years in their native places.

One of the most remarkable instances is that of the Basques, a people who live, some in northern Spain and some in southern France, along the Pyrenees Mountains. Although the invading armies of Romans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, as well as many Germanic tribes have swept over them and through and around them,

the Basques today retain not only their ancient characteristics, customs and habits, but, what is even more extraordinary, their ancient language. As is well known, the Basque language is not related to the Indo-European languages or to any known language. The people who speak it are a very old people.

We have other examples of the tenacity of racial groups such as the Lapps and Finns. They have been conquered and re-conquered many times but they are still a distinct variety of the Mongolian race. They have been and still are surrounded by Norwegians, Swedes and Russians. The Magyars are still distinct, although conquered and over run by Slavs many times.

Rumanians represent another group that have not disappeared amid all the comings and goings of the vast hordes of barbarians that have surged over and around them. The Rumanians claim to be the descendants of those Romans who settled Dacia. This claim is probably correct. In any event for hundreds of years the Rumanians have been a separate people. Gibbon says, "The Vlachs (Rumanians) are surrounded by barbarians without mixing with them."

And perhaps most remarkable of all are the Ainus of Japan who are a Caucasian people. Although conquered, mistreated and despised by the Japanese Mongolians, these ancient people still retain vestiges of their white ancestry. They are long bearded, blue eyed and fair skinned. How they got to Japan no one knows.

Most often a conquering tribe is absorbed by the people it conquers, and, while this causes some mixing, it is generally not large enough to affect the original stock. The Normans under William the Conqueror conquered England, but the few Normans that went there to live were soon absorbed by the original Anglo-Saxon stock. The Normans who went to Sicily were likewise absorbed.

Even in France itself there persists the traditions, the racial characteristics and the customs of the ancient Ligurians who were the progenitors of the French nation. The Ligurians were conquered and over run by Germanic tribes, and finally by the Romans, and while these outsiders may have modified and affected their racial characteristics, the Frenchman of today carries in his mental make up the qualities of his ancestors who lived in France before the dawn of recorded history. Conquering a country rarely changes the racial strain unless the immigration is very great.

We find then that there is not as much race mixing as we might believe. Even in the United States there is a tendency for certain groups to carry on the customs of their immigrant forefathers. In every section of the country may be found segregated into communities Italians, Poles, Swedes, Irish and even Germans.

The German element in our population has merged to a certain extent with the early American stock and so has the Irish. But other groups still retain the mores, customs, food habits and many times the languages of their former European home lands.

Jews have in all ages and at all times held themselves apart. In the United States in some cities they are so numerous that when congregated in certain areas they seem like a separate race. Jews have, as have individuals of other groups, intermarried with their neighbors, and become absorbed into the prevailing racial majority. But there is always a substantial block to carry on the traditions, the habits, customs, religion and ideas of this old people.

In the United States there are many Irish whose ancestors came here a hundred years ago. They still talk of the injustices of the English, speak the brogue of the Old Country and are clannish in their associations.

In cities like New York and Chicago we have large groups of "foreigners" who, although they are now American citizens, are still foreign in their ideas, their ideals, their habits and their ways of life. These people marry their own kind, and so have perpetuated a "little Italy" or a "little Greece" or a "little Poland," wherever they happen to be.

We do not then have the melting pot in the United States that is said to exist. Besides being a displeasing idea the so-called "melting pot" is a fallacy. The country is made up of many different groups and nationalities. There is a lack of homogeneity, and for this reason we cannot at this time have the same kind of nationalism as does France or England or Germany.

We are the home of many cultures. But all are influenced by the philosophy of Americanism, which is the philosophy of Puritanism; not the narrow Puritanism, but the Puritanism exemplified by integrity, determination, seriousness of purpose, the desire to learn and achieve, and a "square deal" for all. The essence of Puritanism is individualism, and individualism is the essence of Americanism. The early American stock still predominates, and in spite

of the assaults of continental ideas, the American ideology still prevails.

As a matter of fact the existence in any country of several different races and cultures is beneficial. Sorokin in his thought-provoking book, *RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES*, points out the fact that both these nations are great because they are made up of many divergent races and sub-races. It is not the melting pot that has given them vigor, but groups of minorities who have retained their cultural and racial characteristics. Our country will be stronger if we continue to have minority groups. Fortunately, we can expect that for several hundred years there will still be groups of Italians, Poles, Greeks and Jews who will hold on to their European traditions.

Of the minority groups Negroes alone seem to have no desire to maintain their racial integrity. They always seem to be trying to escape from their race.

From history and from the experience with bi-racism in the Southern States we know that two divergent races can live in the same country harmoniously. At least there can be a working compromise which after all is about all that life offers to all men. The "parallel civilizations" theory is tenable and works in practice.

CONCLUSION

In another chapter I have shown that the merging or amalgamation of the white and black races is an undesirable solution to the Negro problem in the United States, and that the chances are against its being solved in that way.

In this chapter I have suggested three solutions, any or all of which are feasible. Emigration will not be the solution because of the reluctance of American Negroes to leave this country. Intensive segregation may come about in the course of time, since it offers many advantages to the Negro from a social and economic standpoint.

This leaves the third solution as the probable one—that is, the maintenance and development of a bi-lateral civilization, in which Negroes and whites, living side by side while maintaining the distinction of race, will enjoy the same political rights with equal educational and economic opportunity. Each race will then be free to develop the highest type of civilization of which it is capable.

The problem will be solved if the individuals of each race agree to the policy of a sane segregation with equal opportunity for all.

CHAPTER XVI

SUMMATION

IN the preceding chapters I have shown that there is an equalitarian cult whose adherents seek to promote racial equality, and that there is danger to the superior Caucasian race and ultimately to our western civilization if their ideas are allowed to prevail.

I have called attention to the continuous and ever increasing flow of propaganda emanating from the equalitarians, and the necessity for refuting the half truths and fallacious arguments that tend to break down the natural prejudice of white people against those of a darker color. I have endeavored to answer these arguments, and have made the following points:

1. Nature's first law is "inequality", and "equality" can only be relative. Beginning with individuals, and then comparing families, clans, tribes, on up to entire races there is no equality. The phrase, "all men are created equal", must be qualified. In its literal sense it is untrue.
2. The Caucasian or white race is the superior race. It is responsible for the civilization we have today. Throughout recorded history it has developed or produced all the civilizations which have reached a high level. The yellow race has not attained as high a civilization or progressed as far as have the nations composed of the Caucasian race. Malaysians and Polynesians are even less developed, and Negroes have made the least progress of all.
3. Where groups of Caucasians have merged or interbred with inferior stocks, the whites have deteriorated.
4. The physical and mental differences between Caucasians and Negroes are visible and factual, and they are so great that there is no doubt of the inferiority of the latter to the former. It is difficult to prove in the same manner the superiority of Caucasians over Mongolians because comparative mental tests with Mongolian peoples have not been as extensive or elaborate as the tests made between whites and Negroes in the United States. Physical measurements and comparisons show differences between whites and Mongolians. But these differences are not as great as between whites and Negroes. We can assume, then, that mental differences are not as great, and that Mongolians and

Malaysians grade some where between Caucasians and Negroes.

5. The white race is superior to the Negro race and superior to the yellow race to a lesser degree.
6. Caucasians should retain their superiority and not lose it by merging with inferior races, for such a fusion would weaken the race that has carried civilization to its greatest height, and interfere with the progressive evolution of mankind toward an even finer and higher civilization in the future.

Although the effects of the acceptance of the doctrine of racial equality are worldwide, I have mostly confined my study to the United States and to the relations between the races in this country. Not only is there more opportunity for observation and more pertinent facts available, but in the United States the Negro race has reached its highest development. American leaders of the Negro race are presuming to speak for the darker colored peoples in other parts of the world. The agitation for racial equality is greatest here. For these reasons the United States affords the best field for the study of the race problem.

There is one disadvantage in that Negroes in the United States are beginning to differ physically and mentally from Negroes in Africa because of the admixture of white blood. Actually a new race is being formed in the United States. Quadroons, octoroons and those with a greater amount of white blood do not look like Negroes. These so-called mulattoes used to be a despised race, looked down upon by both whites and blacks. But now they are looked up to and envied by their darker brothers. It is to the credit of many of these *ofays* that they do not attempt to pass over into the white race, but are proud that they are Negroes and help to fight against the injustices that the race is heir to.

If the admixture with the white race is becoming less, as is generally believed by students of the subject both white and Negro, and Negroes do not intermarry or interbreed with white people, in the course of time the race will become homogenous. Intermarrying among themselves, mulattoes, or those of lighter hue, will gradually become darker, and the pure blooded Negroes in the course of time will have their skins lightened. There will then exist a new race which should be mentally and physically superior to the pure Negro

race, but which like the Mongolians would still grade lower than the white race.

At the present time, as I have shown, from 75% to 85% of the Negroes in the United States are pure or possess such a small percentage of white blood, that it has not affected negroid qualities such as color of the skin, kinky hair, prognathous jaw, flat nose, and everted lips. These Negroes are still close to the pure African Negro in physical makeup and in mental characteristics.

I do not think that there is any doubt that Negroes are inferior as a race to white people. In the first place, in their physical characteristics they are nearer to the anthropoid apes. In the second place, they have smaller skulls and lighter weight brains, and intelligence tests prove that mentally Negroes are inferior. Finally, from the history of mankind we know that the Negro race has never developed a real civilization, and it has not exhibited those qualities of imagination, intellect, initiative and aggressiveness that belong to Caucasians.

If the white race in the United States merges with the black race, we will become a nation of octoroons, or of a slightly lighter hue, since there will be a 10% increase in skin pigment. Our jaws will be longer, our hair coarser and always dark, our eyes black or brown, our skulls smaller and our brains lighter in weight. The Caucasian race runs the risk of losing from 1% to 5% of its brain power. This dulling of the intellect, slight as it seems, is enough to take away from the race the vigor of thought, the initiative, virility and that restless energy and curiosity that makes for inventiveness exhibited by the old American stock.* There will be no compensatory exchange. The Negro blood can give us nothing for our lost brain power. The fusion of the two races is almost unthinkable. It is not only against common sense but it is "against the grain"—against the primitive racial prejudice instituted by Nature to preserve the race.

* In an address before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists in 1940 Dr. R. Bennett Bean of the University of Virginia pointed out that the State of Virginia, known as the "Mother of Presidents", was described by Gladstone as the area which "has produced more contemporary great men than any other piece of real estate on earth". The racial strains which settled Virginia were predominately English and Scotch. Of the population of the tidewater counties 44.8% were English, 22.5% Scotch, 10.9% German, 10.7% Welsh, 4.8% Irish and 3.2% were French. Dr. Bean determined these origins on the basis of names gleaned from the old records.

The Negro in the United States can stay here and develop along with the whites a parallel civilization in which he can have every advantage. But the Negro must remain a minority group. He must endure what might be called enlightened caste bonds, that is to say, he may enjoy every economic, political and educational opportunity and the right to pursue happiness—the only restraint being that he cannot be received as a social equal by the whites.*

He can live as he does now side by side with the white man. There must be segregation modified by a working agreement. With equal political rights and economic opportunities the Negro will be free to develop, if he can, a high type of civilization.

Aside from affecting the relations of the white and Negro races in the United States, the application of the theory of equality will have repercussions throughout the world. If all races are equal our attitude must change toward the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Malaysians, Polynesians, Indians in Central and South America, and the Negroes from Africa and the West Indies. We cannot in all fairness continue to keep them out of this country. "If", they say, "we are your equals, why can we not mingle together? You have come into our country, why cannot we go to yours?" And logically they are right. My contention is that all these peoples are inferior to us not only culturally but racially. But the theory of equality does not recognize this point of view. If the equalitarians are correct, the

In this connection I quote a paragraph from N. L. Sims' "Society and Its Surplus" (D. Appleton & Co., 1924): "The vital energy of this nation runs into wide margins. The opinion of Graham Wallas to the effect that the white stock of America starts with a higher average gift of body and brain power than any other people of historic times, with the possible exception of a few thousand Athenian freemen in the Fifth Century B.C. or the Icelanders of the Tenth Century A.D. is a judgment in which well informed Europeans would probably concur. And the unexcelled push and bustle, enterprise, ambition, and performance of the nation along many and varied lines fairly justifies in fact Wallas' opinion."

- * Mark Etheridge, former chairman of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice and editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, writes: "There is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis—which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation. It is a cruel disillusionment, bearing the germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for any of their [Negro] leaders to tell them that they can expect it, or that they can exact it as the price of their participation in the war."

darker skinned peoples should be permitted to enter this country, without limit.

Because the population of Europe is dense and the struggle for existence has been hard, migrants seeking land and a better economic opportunity would select the United States first and then South America as the countries to which they might go. The American people cannot afford to permit the Chinese or any other dark race to begin pouring into this country. It is not necessary to enumerate the evil effects that would rise from such an influx.

The American Federation of Labor on August 10, 1943, went on record against any relaxation of the ban on Chinese immigration. President William Green said that the A. F. of L. would continue to oppose any modification of the Chinese Exclusion Act. He said that the Chinese are not as readily absorbed into our culture as are Europeans. "People from other countries are absorbed in a few years and you cannot tell where they came from. A Chinaman is a Chinaman. Haven't you noticed that?"

And yet the propaganda for the theory of racial equality has been so effective that—combined with our sympathy with the Chinese—Congress has since then passed a law permitting 107 Chinese a year to come into this country. This is just a grand gesture to fling before 450,000,000 Chinese, but even so it is letting down the bars, if only to the extent of a single millimeter.

Instead of liberalizing our immigration laws they should be made even more restrictive. Instead of taking in more people we ought to reduce the present quota percentage. Not only the darker races should be kept out, but we should not allow any more of the riff-raff of Europe to come into this country to add to our prison population, to spread un-American ideologies, and to bring un-assimilatable cultures.

On September 22, 1943, a Grand Jury in the Federal court in New York City indicted twenty-eight members of the German-American Bund for obstructing the draft law. In commenting on the immigration of such foreigners the Grand Jury recommended that only those immigrants be admitted "whose paramount consid-

eration is the welfare of the United States, not that of the immigrant". It also recommended that the immigrants be restricted to those "likely to contribute directly or indirectly to the welfare of this country and who may be readily assimilated as citizens".

A writer in the New York Times, referring to this statement, opposed strongly the proposal by some members of Congress that the immigration laws be suspended to benefit European exiles. He gave some interesting figures. The New York State Department of Mental Hygiene operates eighteen asylums for mental patients, besides two hospitals and five schools for mental defectives. The inmates of these institutions in 1942 numbered 83,000 of whom 30,000 were foreign born and another 15,000 were aliens. Court records also show that the foreign born furnish a much larger proportion of criminals than do native born Americans.

A recent example of a difficulty created by heavy emigration of its citizens to the United States is the case of Poland. There are 350,000 Poles in Detroit—in the United States there are about 6,000,000—and recently in that city they paraded, not as American citizens but as Poles, and then staged a riot in protest against our non-interference in the Russian-Polish border dispute. Groups like this are making it difficult for our State Department to handle our foreign affairs.

How can our government have an American policy when propaganda issued by various groups denounces our Department of State for not favoring its particular cause—the cause of its homeland? We have had too much of this. The German Bund even tried to start a fascist party in this country. We find foreign governments enlisting the aid of their former nations over here in getting what they want from our government.

All these people talk about the melting pot and becoming out-and-out Americans, but many of them seem to be more loyal to the country of their origin than they are to the United States.

We are not so good or so great that we cannot be improved by admitting honest, intelligent and cultured people from the old world, but we do not want immigrants who as soon as they arrive start, first, to tell us how to run our country, and, second, to embroil us in European quarrels. Above all, we do not want our country flooded with ignorant, illiterate and poverty-stricken peoples to displace our wage-earners, because the new-comers are willing to accept a lower standard of living.

It seems to me that the movement to bring equality to the world is doomed to failure. Its proponents are trying to accomplish by legal means or by force something that each race must achieve for itself. Equality is not something that can be conferred but something which must be earned. An individual or a group or a race must have within itself those capabilities and tendencies which will lead it to equal or to surpass other individuals, groups or races. Can the qualities which produce superior individuals or races be cultivated or acquired? To a certain extent—yes. But heredity is strong, and only determination and the exercise of great will-power by each individual can overcome latent weaknesses. There are certain races, which to prove their superiority, must overcome their bad inheritances, as well as their instincts and past traditions. How can this be done? Not by complaining and by attempting to realize through threats or force that condition in which all will be equal. This forcing of equality upon those who do not want it automatically arouses resistance. As "action and reaction are equal and opposite" the reaction to the pressure for equality will be just as strong. It will defeat its own purpose. If inferior races are to achieve equality it must come about naturally. If all races are really equal, time will prove it.

By hard work, self-control, and the exercise of the virtues men develop character and show their greatness. And character alone counts. Aside from its spiritual value it requires character to succeed in material ways. Croesus said: "He who has the iron will get the gold." But he who has character will get the iron and the gold both. The races whose culture is below ours must first acquire character. The individuals of those races must develop that determination and willpower which can overcome adverse circumstances, as the French say *quand meme*—in spite of everything.

In the meantime the doctrine of non-aggression should be applied. No physical force should be employed to bring about equality. It should be allowed to develop and grow. An individual wins respect and admiration of his fellows through his honorable actions and by his upright way of life. He cannot by force create love and respect. Water seeks its level, and though gorges must be cut through mountains, cascades leaped over, and plains crossed the river finally reaches the sea.

As for the hardships and injustices that are the portion of the ignorant and backward peoples of the world, let us remember that it

BIOLOGY OF THE NEGRO, THE—Julian Herman Lewis, M. D.

(Univ. of Chicago Press, 1942)

Dr. Lewis is an Assistant Professor of Pathology at the University of Chicago. His book is the result of a vast amount of study and he quotes and refers to over 1200 authorities. This, in fact, is its weakness since these authorities differ and many points are unsettled because of differences of opinion. One wonders, too, whether, Dr. Lewis does not write with a certain amount of prejudice. For instance on page 277, under a discussion of mental diseases, he says: "Most of the literature on the intelligence of Negroes and their psychological traits has the attributes that it is strongly biased and is based on faulty technics of observation. For this reason it is not possible or desirable to review or to appraise what has been written." However, Dr. Lewis' book is the latest and most complete study of the physiology and the diseases of the Negro.

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN—Carey McWilliams

(Little Brown & Co., 1944)

CASTE AND CLASS IN A SOUTHERN TOWN—John Dollard

(Yale Univ. Press, 1937)

CHARACTERISTICS OF RACES—Ellsworth Huntington (Scribner, 1924)

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO—Otto Klineberg

(Harper, N. Y., 1944)

CHILDREN OF BONDAGE—Allison Davis and John Dollard

CHILDREN WITH I. Q.'s ABOVE 180—Leta Stetter Hollingworth

(World Book Co., 1942)

CIVILIZATION AND CLIMATE—Ellsworth Huntington

(Yale Univ. Press, 1915)

COLOR LINE, THE—William Benjamin Smith

(McClure, Phillips & Co., N. Y., 1905)

COMPARATIVE ABILITIES OF WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN—

Joseph Peterson (Williams & Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1923)

CONFLICT OF COLOUR, THE—B. L. Putnam Weale (McMillan, N. Y., 1910)

DANCE OF LIFE—Havelock Ellis

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, THE—Edward Gibbon

(London, 1788)

DISPLACEMENT OF POPULATION IN EUROPE, THE—Eugene M.

Kulischer (International Labor Office, Montreal, 1948)

EARLY CIVILIZATION—A. A. Goldenweiser (Knopf, N. Y., 1922)

ECONOMIC ALMANAC 1943-44 (National Industrial Conference Board N. Y.)

ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA—11th and 14th Editions

EVOLUTION OF MAN, THE—Edwin Grant Conklin

(Yale Univ. Press, 1922)

FIVE SISTERS, THE—W. E. Platz (Wm. Morrow & Co., 1938)

FOLKWAYS—Wm. Graham Sumner (Ginn & Co., Boston, 1906)

One of the most interesting and thought-provoking books ever written.

GENERAL BIOLOGY—James Watt Mavor (McMillan, 1941)

GENIUS IN THE MAKING—Herbert A. Carroll (McGraw Hill, N. Y., 1940)

Parents of bright children should read and study this book.

GOLDEN BOUGH, THE—Sir John Frazer (McMillan, London, 1920)

HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY—Herskovits (1935)

HEALTH AND WEALTH—Louis I. Dublin (Harper, 1928)

HEREDITARY GENIUS—Francis Galton (1892)

HEREDITY—A. Franklin Shull (McGraw Hill, N. Y., 1931)

HEREDITY OF SKIN COLOR—Charles Davenport

(Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1913)

HISTORY OF BIGOTRY IN THE UNITED STATES—Gustavus Myers

(Random House, N. Y., 1943)

HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE—H. A. Taine

HISTORY OF EUROPE—Ancient and Medieval—Robinson and Breasted

(Ginn & Co., 1929)

HISTORY OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE—W. O. Blake

(Columbus, Ohio, 1863)

INDIA AND THE FUTURE—William Archer (Knopf, N. Y., 1918)

INEQUALITY OF HUMAN RACES, THE—Arthur de Gobineau

(London, 1915)

INTELLIGENCE, ITS MANIFESTATIONS AND MEASUREMENT—

P. L. Boynton (Appleton, 1933)

INTELLIGENCE TESTING—Rudolph Pintner (Holt, 1931)

INTRODUCTION TO APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY—Coleman R. Griffith

(McMillan, 1934)

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, Vol III, No. 3, (July, 1934)

This issue might be called a special edition in that it is devoted to a study of the physical and mental abilities of the American Negro. While some of the writers are naturally biased, the study is the best presentation of the Negro's "case" that has yet been made. It contains an important bibliography, and lists 91 volumes of studies of racial differences that appeared before 1910, and 153 volumes on racial differences in physical traits, and 319 volumes on racial differences in mental abilities that have appeared since 1910.

MANKIND SO FAR—William Howells (Doubleday Doran & Co., 1944)

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: THE FALLACY OF RACE—

M. F. Ashley Montagu (Columbia Univ. Press, N. Y., 1942)

This little diatribe contains a foreword by Aldous Huxley. Interestingly written, Dr. Montagu's statements are accepted by many as authoritative, and propagandists quote him as their scientific authority. "Man's Most Dangerous Myth" is a source book for equalitarians.

MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE—Thomas H. Huxley (D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.)

MARTYRDOM OF MAN—Winwood Reade (London, 1870)

One of the great books of the Nineteenth Century.

MEASUREMENT OF INTELLIGENCE, THE—Lewis M. Terman

(Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916)

MENACE OF COLOUR, THE—J. W. Gregory

(Seeley, Service & Co., London, 1925)

- MEN OF THE OLD STONE AGE—Henry Fairfield Osborn
(Scribner, N. Y., 1916)
- MULATTO IN THE UNITED STATES, THE—Edward Byron Reuter
(Richard Badger, Boston, 1918)
- This is the best study of the mulatto ever made.
- MY DIARY NORTH AND SOUTH—William Howard Russell (1863)
- MYTH OF THE NEGRO PAST—M. J. Herskovits (Harper & Bro., 1941)
- NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES, THE—Lieut. Col.
Charles Hamilton Smith (1851)
- NEGRO INTELLIGENCE AND SELECTIVE MIGRATION—Otto Klineberg
(Columbia Univ. Press, 1935)
- NEGRO YEAR BOOK—1937 (Tuskegee)
- NEGROES IN BRAZIL—Donald Pierson (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1942)
- An important addition to the literature on the Negro. This study is comprehensive in detail and shows the results of the merging of the white and black races in the greatest nation of South America.
- NEW DISCOVERIES RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN—
Sir Arthur Keith (W. W. Norton & Co., N. Y.)
- NEW NEGRO, THE—Edited by Alain Locke (A. and C. Boni, N. Y., 1925)
- NEW WORLD A-COMING—Roi Ottley (Literary Classics, Inc., N. Y., 1943)
- This is the best book about the modern American Negro as he fits into the American scene. In fact it is so good that many Negroes do not like it. Written by a Negro, "New World A-Coming" gives a picture of life in Harlem as it is lived today, and tells interestingly of what is going on "Inside Black America" (the sub-title).
- OLD AMERICANS, THE—Ales Hrdlicka (Williams and Wilkins Co., 1925)
- OUTLINE HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA—Wilgus and d'ECA
(Barnes & Noble, Inc., N. Y., 1943)
- PASSING OF THE GREAT RACE—Madison Grant (Scribner, N. Y., 1916)
- PERIL OF THE WHITE, THE—Sir Leo Chiozza Money
(W. Collins Sons & Co., London, 1925)
- PLACE OF PREJUDICE IN MODERN CIVILIZATION—Sir Arthur Keith
(Day, N. Y., 1931)
- PSYCHOLOGY—Guilford (D. Van Nostrand & Co., 1938)
- POPULATION PROBLEM, THE—A. M. Carr-Saunders (Oxford, 1922)
- PREFACE TO RACIAL UNDERSTANDING, A—Charles S. Johnson
(Friendship Press, N. Y., 1936)
- PRIMITIVE CULTURE—Edward B. Tylor (Putnam, N. Y., 1903)
- PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINING in the United States Army—Col. Robert M. Yerkes
- RACE AND HISTORY—Eugene Pittard. Translated by V. C. C. Collum
(Knopf, 1926)
- Dr. Pittard is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Geneva.
- RACE AND RUMORS OF RACE—Howard W. Odum
(Univ. of N. C. Press, 1943)
- RACE CROSSINGS IN JAMAICA—C. B. Davenport & M. Steggerda—
(Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Pub. No. 395, 1929)

- RACE QUESTION AND THE NEGRO, THE—John LaFarge
(Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y., 1943)
- RACES OF MAN—A. C. Haddon
- RACES OF MANKIND (Public Affairs Com., Inc., N. Y., 1944)
Discussed at length in the text and footnotes.
- RACE TRAITS AND TENDENCIES OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO—
F. L. Hoffman (N. Y. 1896)
- RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT—Doxey A. Wilkerson
- RACIAL HISTORY OF MAN, THE—Roland B. Dixon (Scribner, N. Y., 1923)
- RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN PSYCHOLOGY—Crafts—Scheirls—Robinson—
Gilbert (McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1933)
- REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION, THE—Lothrop Stoddard
(Scribner, 1922)
- RISING TIDE OF COLOR, THE—Lothrop Stoddard (Scribner, 1920)
- RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES—Pitirim A. Sorokin
(E. P. Dutton & Co., 1944)
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